TURKISM ARTICLES

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BERSERKER
BOOKS

THE HIDDEN POWER OF THE TURKIC RACE

The Turks are a nation that embodies many of humanity's finest qualities. Alongside our outstanding qualities—such as heroism, martial prowess and organisational skill—which are not found in such a complete form in any other nation in the world, the level we have attained in various branches of the fine arts is also undeniable proof of this.

The world's greatest heroes have emerged from among the sons of the Turkish race. The world's greatest victories are the achievements of the Turkish army. The Turks are also the founders of the world's greatest states and empires in every respect.

There is no shortage of Turks amongst those who have reached the highest echelons of the fine arts. In architecture, Sinan; in poetry, Yunus Emre, Nevdi and Fuzuli; in music, Itri and Dede Efendi—these are artists of such calibre that they alone could bestow the greatest honour upon a nation.

Within the course of world history, our possession of the world's greatest, most magnificent and longest-lasting states and empires is the natural consequence of these great virtues.

However, our centuries-long world dominance—which was the result of these great virtues—has turned many nations against the Turks. **Amongst the multitude of our enemies, our role in confining the Christian world within its own shell for centuries whilst acting as the sole defender of Islam in the struggle between Islam and Christianity was by no means insignificant.**

Alongside these external enemies, we must not forget that we also have internal enemies. During the final years of our last great empire and in the period following its collapse, the long-standing hostilities of those who remained amongst us—descendants of peoples from lands conquered in ancient times—have continued to inflict constant wounds upon the spiritual life of our society.

In the campaigns our external and internal enemies have waged against the Turks over the centuries, they have skilfully employed a particular trump card: the very nature of the Turk. **The honest, honourable, valiant and noble Turk—unable to grasp the subtleties of deceit to the necessary degree—is easily deceived and struck down by his enemies.**

The Chinese, enemies of the Göktürk era, had deceived and struck down the Turks with tales of their illustrious ancestors, beautiful Chinese princesses, silk and the like. During the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, the most dangerous of such deceptions were carried out by lulling the Turks to sleep under the guise of religion. The 'Union of Elements' (**ittihad-ı anasır**) movement, which emerged during the troubled and perilous years following the Tanzimat, also nearly brought the innocent, pure and gullible Turk to the brink of losing his very last state.

History shows that, during the great hardships and dangers we have faced, the '**Grey** Wolf'—the guide and saviour from the epics of <**Oğuz Khan**> and <**Ergenekon**>—has always emerged from within our own lineage to take the lead, guiding God's most noble lineage out of peril and leading it to victory and safety.

In Asia, whilst living in scattered fragments, Tanrıkut Mete, who rescued the Turkish lineage from division and united it into a single whole, is the first great example of this in history. During the era of the Göktürks, whilst they were being attempted to be assimilated into the vast Chinese continent, Kür Şad—who, together with his forty companions, created that great epic—is one of the examples that have captivated the Turkish spirit. At the beginning of the 20th century, just as the Christian world had set out to wipe the Turks off the map and it was thought that all was lost, **the <National Struggle>**—a gift bestowed by the Turks upon history—stands as the most recent example of this.

The hidden strength of the Turkish race lies in the fact that, precisely when its state faces grave dangers, it rallies around the great leaders it has drawn from within and placed at the helm, thereby saving its national existence from peril. This strength is a gift from God to the Turks. Just as it has done in the dangers it has faced to date, the Turk will, with this hidden strength, undoubtedly overcome any enemies it may face in the future.

Turkey, the last bastion of our race, has for some time now been facing grave dangers. The situation we find ourselves in, resulting from recent events in which the whims of certain politicians have played a major role, is certainly not one to be shrugged off lightly. However, there is no need to succumb to pessimism. The hidden strength of the Turkish race will, in the end, inevitably make itself felt. The stirrings of recent days are signs of this.

No matter what schemes the enemies of the Turks may resort to, it is impossible for them to achieve their aims. For;
<As long as **the sky above does not collapse and the earth below does not split open**>, no force can destroy the homeland and the people of the Turkish race.

PEOPLE AND SYSTEMS

In the development and advancement of nations and societies, do systems play a greater role, or do the people who implement those systems?
It is not without merit to pause and reflect on this matter:

Let us imagine an army equipped with the very latest and most modern weapons. If the commanders of such an army lack the knowledge and qualities required for military service, can that army win a war relying solely on its material firepower?

Let us consider a law drafted to protect a society's national interests and shield it from all manner of dangers. If such a law lacks the hands to enforce it, can it be regarded as anything other than a dusty book gathering dust on a library shelf?

Let us imagine that textbooks, prepared in accordance with the finest and most patriotic curriculum, are placed in the hands of an army of teachers devoid of national spirit and national consciousness. Could the result achieved come anywhere near the expected standard?

Let us recall the Italian army during the Second World War, which was powerful in terms of material armaments. Let us consider our country, where, in recent years, the legal provisions banning communism were not even applied in the face of the most extreme and violent movements

in our country. And let us bring to mind the communist French teachers of the Second World War, who regarded the undermining of the French spirit as their primary duty.

These and similar examples will lead us to the following truth: in such matters, it is the individual who matters most. Without the individual, not only the finest ideas and systems, but even the most powerful weapons cannot yield the desired benefit.

The situation is the same when it comes to the progress and advancement of societies. In other words, when it comes to a society's advancement in both material and spiritual spheres, and the nation's attainment of happiness, the people who will implement the systems are far more important than the systems themselves.

Entrust even the finest socio-economic idea or system to a government formed by people who lack a sense of duty to their country. The result will fall far short of what is required. Conversely, entrust a system—however modest—to a body composed of people brimming with a desire to serve the nation. The result will undoubtedly be far better.

For everything depends on people, on their intentions and actions. Unless a person is well-educated, well-intentioned, patriotic and nationalistic; unless they are brimming with a passion to serve their society, any weapon or system entrusted to them is doomed to remain sterile and insipid.

Those who see Turkey's development within a socialist system are precisely those who are unaware of this truth, who have never paused to consider it or reflect upon it. They are, whether knowingly or unknowingly, under the influence of those who seek to pass off communism as socialism.

The system is, of course, important. But the people who will implement the system are far more important. A person, however, is only truly human to the extent that they are a nationalist. For this reason, it is futile to pin one's hopes on any system without first finding the nationalist individuals, bodies and governments that will implement the system, the ideology and the law. Those who set aside the nationalist—the most perfect of human beings—and the nationalism to which he is committed, and regard socialism, which they consider a panacea for every ailment, as the sole prescription for society, are on the wrong path.

Only when people and the system come together can nations attain what they need. Just as a person is human to the extent that they are nationalistic, so too are ideas and systems only truly such to the extent that they are grounded in nationalist principles and foundations.

Turkey's development?

The submission of ideas and systems built upon a nationalist foundation to the rulings that will emerge from nationalist people…

That is the truth… And that is what the so-called 'intellectuals' in Turkey have failed to find or grasp…

TURKISHNESS AND THE GREY WOLF

Certain nations have adopted certain animals and made them their symbols. The eagle, the lion and the rooster are the first that spring to mind. The Turks, too, have adopted the grey wolf and made it their symbol.

There are undoubtedly certain affinities between symbols and the nations that adopt them. The pairing that best suits both the symbol and the nation is, without a doubt**,** the wolf and the Turk. For **the wolf is the animal with the sharpest claws in the animal kingdom; the Turk, meanwhile, is the most valiant among humankind.**

The wolf is a creature that holds a very significant place in the life of the Turkish people. For centuries, our nation has regarded this animal with its powerful claws as a close companion, a guide, and even as an integral part of its very existence.

Our national epic fragments, which are the collective works of various generations of the Turkish nation, are the literary products and records of this bond between the Turk and the wolf.

In the 'Oğuz Kağan Epic', one of the finest parts of the Turkish national epic, the wolf is a guide leading the Turks to victory and, consequently, to happiness. As Oğuz Kağan, the great ancestor of the Turks, sets off for battle, **the grey-maned wolf** is always at the head of him and his army.

In the 'Ergenekon Epic' too, the grey wolf is a guide and saviour who leads the Turks out of their enclosed homeland—that small patch of land—and reunites them with their great homeland.

In other parts of our epics too, the grey wolf is a being that plays a major role in the life of the Turks.

The Turkish nation has so fully embraced this creature—small in stature yet of great significance in the struggle for life, with its fierce claws—that it has even come to believe itself to be descended from the grey wolf.

This is why, in our history, we have referred to **the heroic leaders who rendered great services to the Turkish nation as 'Grey Wolves**'. It is also for this reason that the Grey Wolf has been featured in numerous works of literature in recent years, which have been brimming with the ideal of Turkism.

Among the spiritual forces that strengthen human societies and give them the upper hand over other societies in the struggle for survival, such national elements drawn from history hold a significant place. Is it not for this reason that enemies who set their sights on national assets first seek to attack and destroy these spiritual assets?

For this reason, the grey wolf holds an important place in the spiritual life of the Turks. During the fervent era of nationalism in the final years of his life, Gazi Mustafa Kemal commissioned the painting 'The Exodus **from** Ergenekon' and had it hung in the Ministry of Education building for this very purpose.

Is there any other reason why insidious enemies of the Turks harbour such hostility towards the Grey Wolf? What destructive idea or belief could possibly influence a Turkish child who cherishes the Grey Wolf as a national symbol in their heart, and who, enchanted by the Ergenekon legend, is bound ever so tightly to their Turkish identity in this respect?

What drives those who have sold their consciences to the northern climes to call the Turk's divine grey wolf a 'dog' and, whilst uttering this vile insult, to lay bare their true nature? What is the reason that drives those, whose eyes are blinded by the golden sands of the scorching desert, to deny the period of our history prior to the tenth century, in order to deprive the Turk of this spiritual strength?

The enemies of the Turks are, for this reason, also the enemies of the grey wolf. Those who view life solely in material terms

unable to comprehend the place such spiritual movements hold in the lives of nations, inevitably find themselves on the same side as the enemies of the Turks.

The Grey Wolf is a great guide in the life and national existence of the Turkish race, like the Shepherd's Star that shows the way to travellers through dark nights. Those who harbour ill will towards the Turks may be hostile to it; only those who live solely for their stomachs or are enslaved by their passions may scorn the Grey Wolf. However, **for those who accept the meaning of life as the struggle for nation and homeland, who have attained this lofty spirit and who regard the struggle for Turkishness as the sole purpose of their existence, the Grey Wolf holds as great a significance as a flag or a banner.** What difference is there between a vile creature who regards the flag as a mere scrap of cloth and a mentally deranged individual who dares to call the Grey Wolf a 'dog'?

For the Turk, there are many sacred spiritual entities. The grey wolf is one of them. For this reason**, protecting and preserving the grey wolf is as great a duty of Turkishness as keeping the crescent-and-star flag flying on the horizon of the homeland.**

As long as there are children of the Turks who live for Turkishness, just as the Turkish flag will continue to fly in the Turkish skies, so too will the grey wolf—which guided our great ancestor Oğuz Khan and led the Turks out of Ergenekon to their great homeland—continue to live on. For the grey wolf is the very embodiment of the Turk. As long as Turkishness endures, all the material and spiritual elements that constitute it will also endure.

In spite of all foolish behaviour, all insidious and calculated acts of treachery, the grey wolf is eternal for this very reason.

STATESMEN AND NEGLIGENCE

Negligence is bad for all people. But for statesmen, it is far worse . Especially when it concerns national matters, it then takes on a terrifying form, surpassing even the degree of mere wickedness.

Turkey's modern history is replete with such examples. A brief review of our history since the Tanzimat is sufficient to encounter ample examples of this appalling negligence among our statesmen.

The fanciful notion of 'Ottomanism' following the Tanzimat is one of the most instructive examples of this appalling negligence observed in our statesmen.

The idea of creating an 'Ottoman nation' from the various ethnic groups within the borders of our last empire should, in fact, have been a policy aimed at assimilating or pacifying the foreign nations under our rule. Yet, on the contrary, this fabricated national fantasy has gripped our intellectuals—and consequently our statesmen—like an intellectual disease. Our rejection of our Turkish identity and our succumbing to the fantasy of a fabricated 'Ottoman nation', and our perpetuation of this appalling folly right up until the end of 1908, is precisely the result of this.

This appalling folly has continued even after the establishment of the Republic. And even today, it still persists in the minds of our statesmen at various levels. The attitudes and behaviour regarding many national issues, and particularly the ideal of Turkism, are undeniable proof of this.

Nations can only withstand the ceaseless storms of humanity

enduring great storms that never cease to rage. It is for this reason that the Turkish nation is compelled to accept Turkish nationalism—that is, the ideal of Turkism—as the sole guiding light leading it to happiness. In other words, it is simply impossible for us to steer the ship of state by turning our backs on the light of Turkism. A ship deprived of such a light is always in danger of running aground on the rocks.

Turkey has, in fact, been in the position of such a ship for many years. This is the reason why it has been lurching haphazardly amidst the waves of life. For many of the ship's crew, from the sailors to the captain, are often daunted by the light that should guide them—that is, Turkism.

This fear is sought to be justified on the grounds that the idea of Turkish nationalism will arouse suspicion amongst non-Turkish citizens in our country. Such a notion, however, amounts to nothing more than demanding that the Turks—who are the owners of the state and constitute nine-tenths of Turkey's population—renounce their national ideals for the sake of the remaining one-tenth.

The statesman who is frightened by Turkism and turns his back on it is so devoid of thought that he mistakes this appalling folly for a subtle and successful policy. He harbours the delusion that those who, whilst being Turkish citizens, possess the consciousness of other lineages and pursue causes distinct from the cause of Turkism will, through this subtle (!) policy, melt into our midst and become harmless. It is impossible to convince him that this line of thinking amounts to an attempt to resurrect the policy of Ottomanism. For his mind is filled with the dregs of the seeds of treachery sown during the hostility towards Turkish nationalism in 1944.

The statesman who embraced the delusion of Ottomanism and denied Turkism had pushed Turkey to the very brink of the abyss. Where will today's behaviour—which is not so very different from his—lead us? This, too, must be considered with the utmost seriousness.

Turkish nationalism is the ideal of the Turkish nation. A nation triumphs not when it fears its ideal, but when it clings to it with both hands. The duty of the statesman in the highest echelons is immense in ensuring that the nation embraces its ideal and rises to greater heights.

Within every society, there are elements that are not of its own kind and, by virtue of the national consciousness they possess, cannot be assimilated. It is the duty of the statesman to ensure they do not cause harm to society.

Our statesmen, too, must choose this right path. If they fail to do so, and continue to stand against the national ideal for the sake of a hollow fantasy, this appalling negligence may one day turn into treason.

Our statesmen must now open their eyes and flee from clinging to tried and failed illusions as one would flee from the plague.

Our age is the age of nationalism. To rise is the right of nations that follow the path of nationalism alone. For this reason, the sole idea to which the Turks must cling with their very being is Turkish nationalism, that is, Turkism. A statesman who fails to grasp this truth cannot even be counted as a man.

THE ENEMIES OF TURKISHNESS

The Turks, the most distinguished race and nation in the history of mankind, having held dominion over the world for centuries, have in recent times declined, become fragmented and fallen into a state of weakness. The nations against whom we fought during those centuries of dominance—and whom we defeated in most of those conflicts—have, as a result of these repeated defeats, become brimming with hostility towards the Turks. This is the reason why the majority of the peoples across the three great continents where Turkish horses once roamed and the Turkish flag once flew are now opposed to the Turks.

As for the hostility towards the Turks amongst the peoples of the European continent, there is another reason besides these constant defeats. This reason lies in the fact that, throughout the centuries-long wars between the Crescent and the Cross, the Crusaders always found the Turkish race to be an invincible force standing against them. The West's ambition and zeal to eradicate Islam have therefore met with failure, and it is through this that the global dominance of the greatest of all religions has been secured.

This situation, which is the result of historical events, imposes a great duty upon the Turkish generations of today and tomorrow. This duty consists of learning about and recognising the enemies of the Turkish nation, determining the extent of their hostility, and seeking and finding ways to protect Turkey—our last remaining stronghold—against this hostility.

The greatest burden in this regard rests on the shoulders of the young. Turkish youth, despite the persistent and inexcusable negligence of those entrusted with their upbringing and the various forms of destructive propaganda surrounding them, must open their eyes and embrace the duty that history and destiny have placed upon them, aided by that unique common sense inherent in their lineage. If the youth fail to fulfil this duty as required, the danger of the dark clouds that have enveloped our horizons descending upon the last remnant of our homeland cannot be averted.

The first step in fulfilling this duty is to arm oneself spiritually. **The Turkish youth must be imbued, from head to toe, with the spirit and consciousness of Turkishness. It is only this spirit and consciousness that can provide the Turkish youth with the invincible strength required to wage the great struggle they must undertake in today's harsh world.**

The path to making Turkey the great Turkey of history's longing can only be entered through the gateway of national consciousness and the national spirit. Only the bulwark of the national spirit and national consciousness can halt the efforts of Turkey's enemies to destroy the country and the attacks they launch with this intent. The only spotlight capable of revealing to the Turk, in all its nakedness and horror, the dreadful, blood-drenched face of the insidious traitor lurking behind his mask is the light of national consciousness and the national spirit.

For this reason, Turkish youth must be brimming with the national spirit and national consciousness. And this has now become a historic duty, a great duty of Turkishness. Every young person will first fill themselves with national consciousness and the national spirit, and then strive to fill the young people around them with the same sacred fire. Throughout history, this has been the surest way to stand firm against the nations of the world, who are filled with a desire for revenge against the Turks before whom they once knelt.

Young Turks in every corner of Turkey, and especially those along the borders!

Heed the voice echoing from the depths of history! **This voice calls you to the sacred duty of Turkishness, to face the enemy who stands ready with weapon in hand.**

THE ESCALATING HOSTILITY TOWARDS TURKISM

Hostility towards Turkism is a form of insidious treachery that has persisted since 1908, when this noble idea began to exert its influence on Turkish life. From that day to this, the vast majority of those who have appeared as travellers on this path of treachery are ethnic nationalists from minority groups with their own national causes.

Hostility towards Turkism in the final years of our Empire was largely presented as cloaked in religious garb and was attempted to be portrayed as an idea that would envelop the cause of Islam. Most of the opponents of Turkism at that time were non-Turkish Muslim Ottomans.

After the Republic, the nature of this hostility towards Turkism changed. Today's **opponents of Turkism are once again minority racists, but these minority racists are no longer merely non-Turkish Muslims cloaked in religion; they are now a group of pro-Russian or pro-Chinese elements wrapped in a socialist guise.**

For many years, the opponents of Turkism in this era have persistently repeated the lie that this wholly unadulterated Turkish idea is a political concept introduced into Turkey by foreigners. Seeing that this lie has had no effect, whilst not entirely abandoning it, they are now attempting to smear this noble Turkish idea with the mud of insults.

These ceaseless slanders and insults are, without a doubt, nothing more than an expression of helplessness. This is why the pro-Russian and pro-Chinese factions, unable to undermine Turkish nationalism with the intellectual power rooted in honour and dignity, have resorted to abuse and insults. For the Reds, despite all their material resources, are powerless, helpless and inadequate in the face of Turkish nationalism. Consequently, they are pitiable.

We know that one member of that group referred to Turkish nationalism as **"donkey-like** ideas". To nationalists who speak of the Communists as, for example, "sell-outs", he says: **"You can only hurl insults at them.**
They, on the other hand, produce **volumes of works without** uttering **a single harsh word**." What, I wonder, do these well-meaning—and somewhat naive—people think of this 'polite'(!) individual and his ilk, who label Turkish nationalism **'donkey-like ideas'!!!**?

Now, if a nationalist were to come forward and say something along the lines of: **'To call Turkism "donkey-like ideas" is a mule-like** move', these well-meaning citizens would surely forget the first part of this literary(!) banter and once again resort to accusing the Turkists.

Such a low-brow move, of course, does not diminish the value of Turkism in the slightest. For **Turkism is a humanistic idea. Indeed, it is the noblest of all humanistic ideas. For it is the ideal of the Turkish Nation, the greatest of all human communities.**

Understanding the meaning of this ideal—and especially of Turkism, which is the ideal of the Turkish race—is, of course, a matter of intellectual calibre. A creature who has known nothing in life but deceit, trickery and materialism cannot, of course, grasp this noble idea. What does a verse by a great Turkish calligrapher or a masterpiece of miniature painting mean to a boor or a sexual deviant? **A national ideal, which is a humanitarian goal, undoubtedly** holds meaning **not only for those who are human in their outward appearance**

but also to the inner world of a truly human being.

However far the pro-Russian, pro-Chinese or pro-Arab creatures in Turkey may stray from decency, courtesy and human decency; however much they may wallow in the mire of insults stemming from intellectual weakness; however widely they may embrace lies, slander and demagoguery, they can neither tarnish the ideal of Turkism nor hinder its progress.

The Turks of Turkey, especially the younger generations, have now awakened. This is the reason why Turkism is growing like an avalanche day by day. This avalanche will, sooner or later, crush every remnant of thought hostile to Turkism and establish the Turkish ideal as the dominant force across the Turkic world.

THE DEFINITION OF THE TURKISH NATION

How should we define the Turkish nation?
Since the search for an answer to this question began, our society has been confronted with a variety of different definitions. The reasons for this are manifold. At times, attempts have been made to apply definitions suited to the structures of other nations to us; at times, only those elements constituting the nation that aligned with the inclinations and interests of those formulating the definition have been selected, and the Turkish nation has been sought to be defined solely in terms of them; and at times, the concept of nationhood—which is entirely a scientific matter—has been attempted to be framed as an expression of political ideas. With such approaches—whether flawed, emotional or deliberate—it was, of course, impossible to establish a true and scientific definition of the Turkish nation. Indeed, this has not been achieved, and the minds of many generations have been confused by definitions that are far removed from the truth, contradictory and unscientific.

Before attempting to define the 'Turk', one must recognise a fundamental truth: to this day, no single, universally accepted definition of the concept of 'nation' has been established anywhere in the world. The reason for this lies in the differences in the ways nations have come into being.

There are various elements that constitute nations, such as race, language, homeland, culture, religion, ideals and history. If all the nations on earth had come into being through the combination of all these elements, then it would have been possible—and indeed natural—to formulate a common definition of a nation. However, this is not the case, nor has it ever been. Nations have emerged through the combination and fusion of one or several of these elements. Very often, an element that is of great importance to one nation has played no role whatsoever in the formation of another.

For example, race is an important element of nationality for the Turks, Hungarians and Germans. For the French and Americans, however, it is not. This is because the Turks, Hungarians and Germans are nations formed from a single race. The French emerged from the mixing of several races, whilst the Americans from the mixing of many.

Language is an important element for the Turks and the Arabs. This is because, like all Turks, all Arabs speak the same language. However, for the Swiss—where three cantons speak three distinct languages, namely German, French and Italian—language is not a unifying factor.

Homeland is an important element of national identity for nations whose entire population lives within the state's borders. However, the same cannot be said for those who have compatriots living outside the borders of their independent states. The Germans who remained in certain territories of Germany that fell into Soviet hands after the Second World War, and the first

The Turks living in captivity in the lands of our homeland, Eastern Turkili, and in other provinces are an example of this. The Jews, who have now established their own state in Palestine, had until recently been living scattered across many parts of the world. If the homeland were an absolute prerequisite for nationality, one would have to deny the existence of the Jewish nation. Yet the Jewish nation has existed throughout history. Today, having re-established its state in Israel, it continues to exist.

These are the reasons why a common definition cannot be formulated for all nations. This is because not all the elements constituting a nation are present in every nation. Consequently, societies are compelled to formulate definitions that incorporate the national elements playing a role in their formation. This is why the French attempt to define their nation by taking the Germans as an example, the Americans by the Hungarians, and the Swiss by the British.

We, too, are therefore obliged to formulate our definition of nationhood in a manner consistent with the historical formation of the Turkish nation and from our own perspective. The reason for the error committed by those who, by taking other nations as examples, attempt to mould the Turkish nation to fit that model is that they have turned their backs on this reality.

We, too, are obliged to formulate our definition of nationhood in a manner consistent with the historical formation of the Turkish nation and from our own perspective. The reason for the error committed by those who, by taking other nations as examples, attempt to mould the Turkish nation to fit that model is that they have turned their backs on this reality.

Just as it is flawed to take foreigners as a model when defining the Turkish nation, so too is it wrong to attempt to unite our nation around a single element of nationality. The shortcomings and flaws in taking ‘cultural unity’ as the basis, in defending ‘traditions’, or in regarding mere coexistence within the same homeland or ‘citizenship’ as sufficient, stem from this. Some of these elements have played a role in the formation of the Turkish nation. However, not on their own, but in conjunction with other elements… It is wrong to present an entity that has come into being through the combination of many elements as if it were the work and result of just one of them. Such a definition is as flawed as defining water solely in terms of oxygen.

Since it is impossible to formulate a definition that encompasses all the nations of the world, societies have been compelled to devise definitions that are appropriate and relevant to themselves. Accordingly, we too are obliged to follow this correct and general path and to formulate our definition of the nation from our own perspective. In doing so, it is, of course, essential to set aside unnecessary forced interpretations, emotional reactions and fanciful fabrications. For defining the Turkish nation is nothing other than establishing this truth. The establishment of facts, however, is achieved not through fantasy or conjecture, but through science and positive thinking. Accordingly, the task at hand is simply to determine how the Turkish nation came into being. This determination is achieved by identifying which national elements played a role in the formation and continuity of the Turkish nation. A definition that encompasses these elements will constitute, for us, the single, unambiguous and most accurate definition of the Turkish nation.

For the Turks, lineage is a significant element. This is because the Turkish nation did not come into being through the intermingling of various races, as is the case with some nations today. The Turkish nation is the product of a single lineage. That lineage is the Turkish lineage.

This truth can also be expressed as follows: there is a single, primary Turkish lineage in history. The Turkish nation originated from this primary lineage and has continued to exist as the same Turkish nation to this day. For this reason, lineage is a very important element—indeed, the primary element—in the formation of the Turkish nation.

Language is also an important element of national identity for the Turks. This is because today all Turks speak Turkish, which is nothing other than the continuation of the primary Turkic language of history. Although there are Turks who, despite being Turkish, speak languages other than Turkish, their number is so insignificant compared to the vast majority that it is virtually negligible. For this reason, language is also a very important element for the Turks.

Culture is also a key element of national identity for Turks. Our culture is the Turkish culture that we have inherited from history, developed to its present form, and which continues to thrive throughout the entire Turkic world today.

For Turks, the national ideal is also a vital element. This ideal, which our nation has referred to as the 'kızılelma' for centuries, has played a major role in our great historical endeavours and movements. This ideal, which once had no defined boundaries but now has a clear objective, is one of the most important elements of our national identity.

The homeland is also a vital element for the Turks. However, it is essential to consider the concept of the homeland in light of its distinctive characteristics specific to the Turks:

Whilst all other nations have had a single motherland throughout their history, the Turks have possessed two: Eastern Turkistan and Turkey. There have been times in history when these two motherlands have merged into a single one. Today, whilst Turkey has lost some of its surrounding territories to foreign powers, Eastern Turkestan remains under foreign occupation. Although this situation casts a shadow over the concept of the homeland, we must acknowledge that this shadow is merely a temporary darkness. Just as we cannot exclude the Turks in Iraq, Azerbaijan or Central Asia from the ranks of our nation, the same applies to the territory of the homeland. In other words, we are obliged to consider the concept of homeland not in its current temporary form—which is detached from naturalness and reality—but in its true, historical form. In this form, the homeland is a vital element for the Turkish nation.

History is also a significant element for the Turks. All Turks living on Earth today are people of the same history. This history has unfolded in our two homelands or in other lands centred around those homelands. In other words, all of this history constitutes the shared history of the Turkish nation. For this reason, history is a key element that must feature in the definition of the Turkish nation.

Religion is another important element for the Turks. Today, the vast majority of Turks – virtually all of them – are followers of Islam. The number of Turks who follow other religions is very small compared to this vast majority.
Through their actions in embracing, spreading and defending Islam against the Christian world, the Turks have, in effect, made it a national religion. For this reason, religion has become one of the key elements for the Turks.

It is evident that seven elements of national identity—namely, race, language, culture, homeland, history and religion—have played a role in the formation, development and continuity of the Turkish nation. The fact that small sections of the Turkish people, scattered across vast areas of the globe, speak languages other than Turkish or adhere to religions other than Islam, and that part of their homeland is under foreign control, does not create a situation that would obscure the historical truth.

Accordingly, the definition of the Turkish nation, which is in line with scientific understanding and expresses the truth, emerges naturally:

The Turkish nation is a community bound together by the elements and unity of lineage, language, culture, ideals, homeland, history and religion.

ALL TURKS ARE AN ARMY

All Turks are an army… These four words are among the most beautiful expressions of the Turkish nation's ideal. Taken from a poem by our great thinker Ziya Gökalp and transformed into a motto of the ideal, these words are also the motto of tens of thousands of enlightened Turks who serve the Turkish cause without expecting anything in return.

Those who do not know or cannot grasp the meaning of the ideal, and those who lack the quality of being idealists, have always sought to stand in the way of those defending the Turkish ideal by invoking the 'material means' argument. To recall that ideals are grand causes—rooted in the distant future and intertwined with imagination—that transcend material means is sufficient to understand how mistaken they are.

National ideals are one of the greatest sources of spiritual strength for societies. The Turk who understands the meaning of the ideal believes, for this very reason, that his greatest duty in life is to serve this ideal. Turks who find the meaning of their lives in this ideal and dedicate their lives to it have, for this very reason, existed in every age. They were there yesterday. They are here today. And they will be there tomorrow. This link in the chain of faith and its indomitable power are the surest guarantee of the realisation of the Turkish ideal. In the not-too-distant future, the world will once again witness the degree of truth in my words: that what has been true in history may well be true in the future.

Those who, being enemies of the Turks, are also hostile to the Turkish ideal, are working today, just as they did yesterday, to divide our nation into fragments. It is also the duty of the Turks to remain vigilant against this deceit. Just as Turks who take pride in being the offspring of this lineage believe in the oneness of God, so too must they believe in the unity and integrity of the Turkish nation. We must not forget that dividing the Turks into fragments according to their geography and branches amounts to playing into the hands of enemies who are striving to eradicate the very roots of our lineage. No Turk, in their right mind, could ever commit such a despicable act.

That said, there are also those who, without realising it, are walking down this wrong path. These include Turkish intellectuals in Turkey who turn their backs on the millions of Turks living in captive lands, and a certain section of Turks abroad who dream of the establishment of fragmented states tomorrow in the captive Turkish world—a world that will undoubtedly be freed from the enemy's boot one day.

Such behaviour and beliefs, which run counter to the Turkish ideal, are, of course, regrettable. In the face of these regrettable actions, it falls to the idealists to strive, with persistence, to warn those who are on the wrong path.

In today's world of nations, a Turkey that has turned its back on the other parts of the Turkish world cannot be considered a state with a guaranteed future. Tomorrow, when the enemy is defeated and independence is won, if a number of Turkish states, large and small, were to emerge in our first homeland, Eastern Turkistan, the same danger would loom there as well. It must not be forgotten that the existence and future of the Turkish people depend on their unity, which will make them an impregnable fortress.

Guided by its conscious sons and daughters, our nation has, for many years, been following the

and on which the Turkish race will be led to happiness. For this reason, there is never a shortage of travellers on this path. As one generation follows another, this is why the finest of the young Turkish sons and daughters embrace this cause.

The cause stands firm and marches on. Just as Turkish idealist youths in Turkey have embraced the cause of the captive Turkish provinces and are devoting their very beings to the reality of Turkish unity, so too is the fact that young people from these captive Turkish provinces stand firm as a rock against regionalist and divisive attitudes and behaviours the clearest proof of this. With these young people and this faith, this ideal will certainly be realised one day.

The greatest burden on this path rests on the shoulders of the idealist youth. All idealist Turkish youth must never cease their struggle against those who are on the wrong path. However, this struggle must be for the purpose of warning, not of destruction.

The Almighty God created the Turks as a single whole, a single nation. For many years now, this unity has been in a fragmented state. If a Turk is truly a Turk, he will restore this divine will to reality once more.

We believe with all our hearts that this unity will one day become a reality, just as it was in history. The greatest bond that ties us, as Turks, to life is this belief.

The most beautiful motto of this great ideal—which we have believed in for years, in which we believe today, and in which we shall continue to believe tomorrow—is the phrase **'All Turks are one army**'.

Until the contrary is found even in the most uncomprehending minds, the most unfeeling hearts and the most deaf ears, we must repeat this national motto on the day of the Lord and with our loudest voices:

All Turks are one army...

GÖKALP AND TURANISM

Since the years of the Second World War, attempts have been made to oppose Gökalp—who holds a great and honourable place amongst the defenders and propagators of the Turanist ideal—by repeatedly advancing two claims. The first of these claims is that Turanism is a fantasy. The second is that Gökalp had renounced Turanism towards the end of his life. In this way, it is sought to imply that, on the one hand, the ideal of Turanism is a fantasy, and on the other, that since the man who rendered great service in establishing that ideal within Turkish society ultimately renounced it, it is not a cause worth defending.

It must not be forgotten that the vast majority of those who put forward these claims at every opportunity are enemies of the Turks and of Turkishness, foremost amongst them the communists. Given that it is only natural for the enemies of Turkishness to attempt to portray ideas and movements beneficial to our nation as bad, whilst presenting those that are harmful as good, merely examining the issue from this angle alone may suffice to reach the correct conclusion.

Turanism—the idea and aspiration for the unification of the global Turkic peoples within the borders of a single state—is, first and foremost, not a fantasy. For it has been realised on numerous occasions in the past. It was Mete, who first united the Turks under a

flag was Mete, who became leader of the Huns in 209 BC. The Turks, who had scattered in times when there were no powerful khans, reunited upon the accession of iron-fisted leaders. For example, as was the case during the reigns of Genghis Khan and Aksak Temir… Even if we set aside other periods of unification, do not the unifications of the Genghis and Temir eras alone suffice to demonstrate that the Turan ideal is a historical reality?

The term 'fantasy' may be used for ideas and notions that never materialised in ancient times. For example, the ideal (!) of uniting all nations within the borders of a single state… To dismiss the 'Turkish Unity'—a magnificent historical reality—as a fantasy is possible only if one does not know what a fantasy is, is ignorant of history, or is deliberately telling a lie.

Gökalp's ideas and convictions regarding the Turan ideal are well known even to those with a modicum of cultural awareness. The following verses, which have been etched into the memories of tens of thousands of Turks from the time they were written to the present day, are small examples of this.

The enemy's land shall lie in ruins;
Turkey shall grow and become
Turan!

This is our final wish in this mortal world:
We are Turks, we shall reach Kızılelma…

Neither stone nor rock
can stop us; we shall
walk on foot… We are
Turks, and we shall go
to Kızılelma…

The homeland is neither Turkey nor Turkestan for
the Turks; the homeland is a great and eternal
land: Turan:

This important matter is expressed in *__The Principles of__ Turkism* with the following lines:
"The distant ideal of Turkism is to unite the Oghuz, Tatars, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks and Yakuts under the name of Turan in language, literature and culture. Is it possible for this ideal to become a reality, or not? Whilst this aspect is considered for immediate ideals, it is not considered for distant ones."

"The unification of one hundred million Turks into a single nation is the strongest source of fervour for Turkists. Had it not been for the Turan ideal, Turkism would not have spread so rapidly. However, who knows? Perhaps the realisation of the Turan ideal may well be possible in the future. An ideal is the creator of the future. The 'national state', which yesterday was merely a hypothetical ideal for the Turks, has today taken on the form of a reality in Turkey.

We can therefore classify Turkism into three categories based on the scope of its ideal: 1. Turkish nationalism

2. Oğuzism or Turkmenism 3.
Turanism
Today, only 'Turkish nationalism' exists in the realm of reality. However, the 'Kızılelma'—which souls seek with great yearning—lies not in the realm of reality, but in the realm of imagination. When the Turkish villager imagines the 'Kızılelma', the ancient Turkic Ilkhanates come to mind. Indeed, the Turan ideal was not merely a fantasy in the past, but a reality.
210 years before the Common Era, when the Hun ruler Mete united all the Turks under the name of the 'Kun' (Huns), the 'Turan' ideal had become a reality. Did not the Avars after the Huns, the Göktürks after the Avars, the Oghuz after the Göktürks, the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs after them, and subsequently Gür Khan, Genghis Khan and, last but not least, Tamerlane, all turn the Turan ideal into a reality?"

"Turan is the great homeland of all Turks, a concept that has existed in the past and may well exist in the future."

The claim that Gökalp abandoned this cause towards the end of his life is based on the fact that he made no mention of the Turan ideal in the writings he produced during his final years.

It is well known that, following our defeat in the First World War, Ziya Gökalp was exiled to Malta along with others who had been arrested. It is also no secret that the period between his return to Turkey from Malta and his death was a short one. In other words, neither his years in Malta nor his final years in Turkey could have been times when articles on the '**Great Turkish** Ideal' could have been written. After all, had he not already written as much as was necessary on this subject in previous years?

And furthermore, was the Turanist ideal a matter pertaining solely to Gökalp's person, such that those who came after him felt obliged to align their attitudes and behaviour on this path with those of Gökalp? Even if not just Gökalp, but I know not how many other intellectuals had passed away, the Turanist ideal would still continue to be the ideal of the Turkish race.

It is evident, whichever angle one approaches this claim from, just how meaningless it is, and to what extent it defies reason and logic.

The ideal of Turanism is the ideal of the Turkish race. There may be those who disapprove of it, who find it unnecessary or dangerous, or even those who stand in its way and seek to undermine it. However, these do not alter the fact that Turanism is the ideal of the Turkish race. It is for this reason that, despite all the destructive propaganda, devious manoeuvres and even oppression, it continues to envelop the spirits of the younger generations like a divine fire.
And when the time comes, this great ideal will undoubtedly be realised under the command of a son of the Turks, emerging from their midst with an iron wrist and a will of steel.

THE ISSUE OF ATATÜRKISM – I

In Turkey, which has fallen into a crisis of ideas and beliefs, our society is increasingly losing the ability to seriously examine and evaluate not only many of our fundamental ideological issues but also the figures who have played a major role in the fields of thought, art and politics in our recent history. Consequently, the younger generations are, on the one hand,

from opposing perspectives; whilst, on the other hand, they possess incorrect or incomplete information about the figures of their history.

Turkish racialism and Turanism, which are fundamental issues of our heritage, are great causes that the vast majority of the younger generations perceive as being quite different from their true nature. Namık Kemal and Ziya Gökalp are great writers who are presented to the public with very differing interpretations. Sultan Abdulhamid is a ruler who is portrayed as oscillating between the poles of the North and the South. Although he has been the subject of much discussion in recent years, Atatürk, too, is far from being a figure whose personality can be confined within clear-cut boundaries.

The reason for all this is that, in places where only scholarship and ideas ought to be discussed, personal agendas and intentions are being voiced. And as long as this continues, it will not be possible to teach our children the true value of our historical figures by presenting, with complete impartiality, either the true meaning of our nation's great causes or their virtues and flaws.

Here, by taking one of the prominent figures of our recent history as an example, we shall endeavour to show how ideas and people are exploited for certain purposes, and how certain truths are sought to be distorted. This figure is Gazi Mustafa Kemal.

The term most frequently used by those who never cease to mention Mustafa Kemal in their speech and writing is 'Atatürkism'. Therefore, we must first seek the answer to the following question:

What is Atatürkism?

Gazi Mustafa Kemal was neither a man who pioneered a new social or philosophical movement, nor—like Gökalp, for example—a great thinker. Nor was he someone who had compiled the ideas he believed in and sought to realise into a single book. So, what, then, is this 'Atatürkism' that has been put forward at every opportunity in recent years? Is it a system of ideas that has emerged or been constructed by bringing together which of Gazi Mustafa Kemal's fundamental ideas?

Before seeking an answer to this question, it would be appropriate to briefly consider the political and non-political organisations that constantly reiterate their commitment to Atatürkism, as well as some of those who hold different ideas and beliefs:

There are many political parties in Turkey. Many members of these parties assert, at every opportunity, that both their parties and themselves are Atatürkists. For example, the A.P., considered the largest political organisation, is an Atatürkist party. The C.H.P., which has never relinquished its title as the largest opposition party, is an Atatürkist party. The T.İ.P., which claims to be the party of the working class, is an Atatürkist party.

Yet it is well known that on many key issues, these parties hold completely opposing views and ideas. It is also no secret that this opposition, in some cases, reaches the level of outright hostility. Indeed, the parties' views of one another sometimes extend as far as extreme allegations or very harsh judgements. The A.P., which proclaims itself to be respectful of democracy, law-abiding, libertarian and populist, is, in the eyes of the others, a capitalist, law-breaking party of profiteers and the wealthy who exploit the people. The C.H.P., in its own words, is situated on the left of centre—a position whose precise boundaries can never be defined—whilst, according to opposing claims, it is on the path to Moscow. The M.P., which stands in

the M.P., which stands in direct opposition to both, is a party with which neither has the slightest connection. The T.İ.P., if one is to believe its own claims, is a socialist organisation; according to the views of the others, it is a Marxist-Communist organisation.

In short, all these parties are diametrically opposed to one another in many respects, such as ideology, belief, system and outlook. Consequently, the following question arises of its own accord: how is it that these political organisations, which are so opposed to one another that they would each dig the other's grave, are able to unite under the ideological system known as 'Atatürkism', which must, of course, be composed of a set of fundamental ideas?

As for non-political organisations and associations, whilst there are a great many of them, with the possible exception of a few, the remainder are all Atatürkists.

Yet they too are divided into groups that are either close to or distant from one another. For this reason, in the event of a significant domestic or international incident, they split into groups that either support one another or oppose one another.

For example, if foreign ships were to anchor in one of our ports for two days, this action would be regarded by some associations as a courtesy visit, whilst by others as an attack on our independence. In a foreign country, the extreme actions of a youth group that paralyse daily life are, for some of these associations, acts of treason orchestrated from abroad. The fact that the same events are interpreted in such diametrically opposed ways undoubtedly stems from the associations' differing views and starting points on key issues. Yet, however much they may differ in this or that idea or belief, this does not constitute an obstacle to their immediate unity in Atatürkism.

Is the same not true of individuals as well? The leader of the AP, Demirel, is a Kemalist! **İsmet İnönü, who refused to have Mustafa Kemal laid to rest in his proper grave during his twelve-year 'national leadership' (!), a period of arbitrary rule, and who even had his portrait removed from banknotes and postage stamps, is also a Kemalist!** For example, Osman Bölükbaşı is a Kemalist. Dr Azizoğlu is a Kemalist. Yeminli Aydın Yalçın is an Atatürkist. So are newspaper editors and columnists: Ahmet Emin Yalman, whom Mustafa Kemal banned from writing, is an Atatürkist. Falih Rıfkı Atay, whose fierce rivalry with Ahmet Emin is well known, is an Atatürkist. Nadir Nadi, who for years has stubbornly refused to use the surname 'Abalıoğlu' – which his father, Yunus Nadi, adopted under a law enacted during Atatürk's era – is an Atatürkist. Professors who have set aside their academic pursuits to engage in the affairs of the daily world as newspaper columnists are Atatürkists. In short, in Turkey, everyone and everything is an Atatürkist. So much so that, although they have not yet formalised and announced it, there can be no doubt that the presidents, administrators and even the players of our sports clubs—from the big clubs such as Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray and Beşiktaş right down to those in the third division—are Atatürkists.

In light of this situation, seeking the answer to the following question has now become a duty that must be fulfilled without delay: **How is it that so many organisations and individuals—who share not the slightest affinity in terms of ideas, thoughts, beliefs, inclinations, political or economic views, and many other aspects; indeed, many of whom stand opposed to one another on various significant grounds such as differences in ideals, causes, or interests, and some of whom are even regarded as mortal enemies— become, within the ideology known as 'Atatürkism', not merely brothers in spirit, but even closer—almost inseparable brothers?**

Such an outcome runs counter to human thought and human logic. It runs counter to it a hundred thousand times, a million times over. If there is any single condition that could make this impossible outcome possible, it is this: that Atatürkism, capable of uniting people of every kind under its spiritual umbrella, is a 'mishmash' created by the intermingling or deliberate mixing of all the ideas,

beliefs and systems in today's world, resulting in a 'mishmash'. To accept such a thing would, without a doubt, constitute the most vulgar of insults that could be levelled at Gazi Mustafa Kemal.

Accordingly, the verdict to be passed on so-called 'Atatürkism'—which has been the subject of much clamour for years—becomes self-evident: what is put forward as 'Atatürkism' is not a serious ideology, but merely a piece of rhetoric!

Yes… Today's clamour about 'Atatürkism' is merely a piece of literary fiction—and, moreover, one that has absolutely no connection whatsoever to Mustafa Kemal…

A Turk who truly loves Atatürk; or, even if he does not love him, admires him for the virtues he possessed; or, because he was the commander-in-chief of that great army, the saviour of the Turk's last stronghold—yes, solely for this reason—and harbours a sense of respect for him, can never, in this sense, be an 'Atatürkist'. **For 'Atatürkism' is not merely an idea unrelated to Gazi Mustafa Kemal; it also uses him as a smokescreen for a set of insidious and calculated thoughts and ideas…**

Indeed, 'Atatürkism' is nothing more than a pretext for using Gazi Mustafa Kemal's imposing presence as a shield, from behind which one can easily, comfortably, and even brazenly voice or write one's own base interests, political ambitions, or accursed ideas against Turkishness. Were this not the case, could so many people—from liberals to dictators, from socialists to capitalists, from left-wingers to communists, from the colourless to the enemies of Turkishness—have been posing as Atatürkists all these years?

This is the sole truth in the literature of Atatürkism.

THE LITERATURE OF ATATÜRKISM – II

Can there really be such a thing as the 'ideology of Atatürk'?

Of course there can be. **If the key ideas, principles and systems that Gazi Mustafa Kemal insisted upon and sought to implement in the state and nation— —are seriously identified and brought together, such a collection of ideas and systems could be called 'Atatürkism'.** This is, in fact, the only way to put a definitive end to the current 'Atatürkism' literature—which has become a festering sore—and to rescue Gazi Mustafa Kemal from the clutches of self-serving politicians, charlatans and enemies of the Turkish nation.

Compiling and gathering Atatürk's key ideas, principles and beliefs with such a serious purpose in mind is by no means a difficult task. This is because the majority of the serious sources required for this task are readily available in the form of books and institutions. For example, a vast majority of the speeches he delivered throughout his life—perhaps even all of them—have been published. We have at our disposal the minutes of the history and language congresses that spanned the last six years of his life, as well as the books that were the primary objectives of these and other such congresses. The lecture notes from the history of the Revolution courses taught at universities and higher education institutions have been compiled into books. The founding aims and activities during Atatürk's time of the institutions he established or had established—such as the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, the Institute of Anthropology, the Historical Society and the Language Society—are by no means unknown. It would not be particularly difficult to add his ideas and thoughts on matters and topics that are to this extent unknown. For in Turkey,

the person about whom the most books and articles have been written is Mustafa Kemal. Although the majority of these books may be of varying quality, there are valuable ones amongst them. A serious researcher will be able to distinguish the valuable from the mediocre; they will also know how to remain detached from all preconceived notions and from political statements made out of courtesy or necessity. It is only in this way that the ideas which might be termed 'Atatürkism' can emerge.

Some of the fundamental elements that would form part of the body of ideas that might be termed 'Atatürkism' lie in the actions that guided the complementary behaviours of Mustafa Kemal during the final years of his life. Using some examples from the history of the revolution courses taught at universities and colleges, from the famous four-volume history written specifically for secondary schools, and from the minutes of the First History Congress, I would like to touch upon some of these here.

In the section titled <RACE> in the first volume of the history textbooks prepared for secondary schools, the passage discussing the Turkish Race contains the following lines:

"The Turkish Race, which has brought about the greatest currents of history, is a race that has preserved its identity to the greatest extent.
…It is evident that the Turkish Race, which displays the most striking unity in history, is a great community that, with its dominant and distinct organic characteristics, its culture—the most powerful product of the mind—and its shared historical memories, is also the one that best fits the modern definition of a nation. To witness such a great race existing as a nation throughout history is a great strength and a great honour, one that has eluded the vast majority of human societies in our time." (History: I, Istanbul 1931, State Printing House, p. 20.)

In the section of the same book entitled 'A General Overview of Great Turkish History and Civilisation', the boundaries of 'the Turks' homeland' are delineated as follows:
"The region enclosed by a line stretching from the Great Kadırgan (Kingan) Mountains to the Baikal Basin, thence along the Altai Mountains to the Volga Basin, and continuing via the Caspian Sea basin, the Hindu Kush, the Pamir, the Karakoram and the Dark Mountains, and then back to the Kingan Mountains via the Yellow River, constitutes the Turks' homeland." (Ibid., pp. 25–26.)

This book, which states on its inside cover that 30,000 copies were printed by order of the Department of National Education and Upbringing of the Ministry of Education, is intended for first-year secondary school pupils. During Atatürk's lifetime, and even for a year or two after his death, it was the sole textbook used in our secondary schools.

Through these lines, the nature and essence of the idea intended to be instilled in young minds regarding the Turkish race and its homeland were set out in all their clarity in the history of the Revolution courses, which were continuously taught at our universities and higher education institutions during Atatürk's time. **This principle is not very different from the principles of Turkish Unity (Turanism) and Turkish racialism within the ideal of Turkism.**

In the work *The Atatürk Revolution* by the late Mahmut Esat Bozkurt—compiled from his notes on the history of the revolution and published as Book No. 160 by the Institute of the Revolution at Istanbul University—there is an abundance of irrefutable evidence to this effect. Here are a few examples:

On the Turkish Union:

"Atatürk infused the Turkish language—which was in danger of being lost in the hands of Divan literature and its followers—

language, which was in danger of being lost in the hands of Divan literature and its followers, with a tremendous initiative, instilling in it a strength capable of gradually restoring its former unity; this is the most radical guarantee not only for today's Turkey but also for tomorrow's Turkic world and Turkish unity." (Mahmur Esat Bozkurt, *The Atatürk Revolution*, Istanbul 1940, pp. 310–311)

"As for the Turkish Nation: from Siberia and the shores of Lake Baikal, through Iran, Russian Azerbaijan and the whole of Eastern Turkic lands, right down to the shores of the Mediterranean, the Western Turks have no difficulty in understanding one another." (Ibid., p. 311)

"I have faith that the Turkish Union will one day become a reality. Even if I do not live to see it, I shall close my eyes to this world whilst dreaming of it." (Ibid., p. 191)

"I, too, believe in the Turkish Union more than this. I can see it. The history of tomorrow will open its new chapters with the Turkish Union. The world will find its peace within these chapters." (Ibid., p. 191)

On Turkish Nationalism:

"Whatever revolution is carried out on behalf of a nation must necessarily be carried out by that nation's own sons and must remain in their hands. For example, the Turkish Revolution must remain in the hands of the Pure Turks. And that, unconditionally." (Ibid., p. 228)

"The worst Turk is better than the best non-Turk. The misfortune of the Ottoman Empire in the past lay largely in the fact that its destiny was administered by others rather than by Turks." (Ibid., p. 228)

"……..**Let us not trust anyone but Turks in the affairs of the Turkish state. No one other than a Turk should not be placed at the head of the affairs of the Turkish state**." (Ibid., p. 266)

"History tells us:
When those from a people other than the state's founders take charge of state affairs, that state meets its downfall. In other words, the nation loses its independence.
Would you like an example? Look at the Abbasids, look at Al-Andalus, look at the Ottomans!
Turks will undoubtedly be at the helm of the affairs of the new Turkish Republic. We will place our trust in no one but Turks." (Ibid., pp. 446–447)

For years, these words were presented to university students as the philosophy, foundation and spirit of Atatürk's revolution. Essentially, during Mustafa Kemal's era, it was, of course, impossible for ideas that he did not endorse or desire to be instilled in the youth by his close associates, whom he had appointed to their posts.

It is possible to understand from the published minutes and proceedings that the intellectual atmosphere at the history congresses was no different from this. Some details from the First History Congress, held in Ankara in 1932, will bring this to light.

A particularly striking aspect of this congress, held at the Türk Ocağı in Ankara in 1932, was the virtual elimination of the word 'nation' and the insistent use of the term 'race' in its place, with virtually every speaker emphasising the greatness and superiority of the Turkish race. A few brief examples from the speeches of Afet İnan and Dr Reşit Galip, who attended the congress, will illustrate this.

Excerpts from Afet İnan:
"I wish to set out one issue quite clearly here. When I speak of the mass of people originating from Central Asia—who have flourished there and created a distinct culture of their own—I am thinking of a single race. And I call that race 'Turk'.
…… The indigenous population of the Central Asian steppes has coalesced into a single racial entity. For tens of thousands of years, it was impossible for any people of a different bloodline or physical type to come and settle there, owing to the natural barriers at the borders of their homeland." (First Turkish History Congress, Ankara, 1932, p. 31)

"Whilst the Turkish race had attained a high level of civilisation in its homelands, the peoples of Europe were leading a savage and utterly ignorant existence." (Ibid., p. 41)

From a speech by Dr Reşit Galip, one of the Ministers of Education during the era of Mustafa Kemal, entitled **'A General Overview of the History of the Turkish Race and Civilisation**':

"….. **In other words, we are the children of a marvellous lineage, the source of power and ability**." (Ibid., p. 110)

"Those who possess the inexhaustible essence of Turkish blood in every true sense can have no doubt about this." (Ibid., p. 161)

As for the issue of Turkish Unity, that is, Turanism:

It will suffice to be aware of an incident that took place at the Congress and the speech delivered by Şemsettin Günaltay on this occasion in order to form a judgement on the matter.

At the First History Congress, Professor Zeki Veli, who had opposed a thesis that did not conform to historical fact, found himself the subject of debate when the ideas of D. Togan were deemed to run counter to Atatürk's wishes; ultimately, Şemsettin Günaltay resorted to silencing Zeki Veli by accusing him of attempting to obstruct 'Turkish Unity'. The following words of Şemsettin Günaltay, who had previously resorted to accusing Professor Zeki Veli of obstructing Turkish unity at a congress held in Russia, reveal the truth of the matter:

"…… **I wonder if Mr Zeki Velidi intends to play the same role at this congress as well? But let them rest assured that the fire of nationalism is blazing in the minds of those gathered around this congress. In the face of this fire, every effort, every endeavour is doomed to melt away**." (Ibid., p. 600.)

One of Atatürk's intellectual characteristics was
anthropological racism, which the communists sought to ridicule as 'skull-measuring'.

As is well known, it was Mustafa Kemal who founded the Institute of **Anthropology** in this country. Skull excavations carried out in various locations, **and measurements of skulls and cranial features conducted in many schools across Turkey, were initiatives undertaken following the establishment of this institute.** Similarly, the reports presented by those representing Turkey at international anthropological conferences are nothing other than the results of such work.

Atatürk himself took a keen interest in this matter and, by measuring the heads of those present at his famous evening banquets,

thus personally taking part in anthropological studies (that is, the 'skull-measuring' movement). Rumours that one evening he also measured İsmet İnönü's head, but was teased because İnönü's head measurements did not quite match the typical Turkish head measurements, can be cited as one of the proofs of the importance he attached to anthropological studies. (This instrument, with which Atatürk measured the heads of many people, is today on his desk at the Atatürk Museum in Anıtkabir, alongside his other belongings)

Mustafa Kemal's stance and behaviour towards communism should also not be overlooked.

Having grasped the true nature of this accursed ideology shortly after communism came to power in Russia, Atatürk lived as a staunch opponent of communism for the rest of his life. In this respect, this aspect of his character is of such significance that it ranks amongst the elements constituting Atatürkism. The following statements are just a few of the documents that illustrate this aspect of Mustafa Kemal's character:

"…..As for Bolshevism, when one considers our religion, our traditions and our social structure—which prevent it from gaining a foothold amongst us—it becomes clear that this doctrine has no chance whatsoever in our country.
………**From a social perspective, our religious principles prevent us from accepting Bolshevism. Indeed, the Turkish Nation is prepared to fight against it if necessary**."

"We are neither Bolsheviks nor Communists; we are neither one nor the other. For we are nationalists and respectful of our religion."

These words date from a time when it had not yet been fully realised just how dreadful and accursed an idea communism is as an enemy of humanity. Once Mustafa Kemal realised what a terrible danger communism posed to Turkishness, he adopted a much firmer stance against it. The historic speech he delivered at Eskişehir station in August 1928 is the clearest evidence of this.

In this speech, he stated:

"Communism is the greatest enemy of the Turkish world. It must be crushed wherever it appears."

clearly demonstrates Atatürk's hostility towards communism.

Indeed, what might be termed 'Atatürkism' can only emerge through the completely impartial identification of such ideas as those adopted and sought to be implemented by Mustafa Kemal. Until this is done, Atatürkism will remain, as it is now, nothing more than a vulgar 'game **of exploiting Atatürk**'.

TO THE YOUNG TURKS WHO GUARD THE HOMELAND

Is it possible, as a Turk with a conscience and a heart, not to take pride in the young men of today who belong to this great, heroic, noble, yet unfortunate Turkish race?

Most of you are Turkish youths who have come from some corner of this neglected, unkempt homeland—a gift from our forefathers—to the so-called 'big cities' in pursuit of education. Most of you are striving to realise this aspiration—which is your most natural right—by enduring a thousand and one material and spiritual hardships. Whilst labouring on this path, you regard it as your most natural national duty to oppose the treacherous, despicable and hostile actions

you regard it as your most natural national duty to oppose the treacherous, despicable and hostile actions being initiated and carried out with the aim of undermining our state from its very foundations. And, setting aside your ambition to educate yourselves for this great duty, you are fighting like Grey Wolves, following the path to which your conscience and sense of duty lead you.

The struggle you have embarked upon is certainly not, as many illiterate and narrow-minded people living on these lands imagine, a mere **'commando!!'** tale.

You are the brave defenders of your homeland, standing against the treasonous network within your own country, amidst a global campaign of savagery—waged by today's treacherous world—that seeks to drown the freedoms of people and nations in a flood of blood.

The force you are trying to resist is no different from the units leading the armies of the Chinese and the Russians – two great enemies of the Turks, as recorded by history.
And that force possesses all the resources necessary for such a struggle; it has weapons, money and the means of propaganda.

Your only weapon, however, is the Turkish blood coursing through your veins and the divine, great fire of love burning in your hearts, filled with faith!

You are fighting with great self-sacrifice to protect your race and your homeland. You are erecting your meagre material possessions like a wall of steel against the treacherous hands that seek to stab your homeland in the back. You are using your chests as shields against the bullets fired at you. And when the red bullets pierce your hearts and you are reunited with your God, those who see that your stomachs have been empty for who knows how long (*) cannot hide their astonishment and admiration in the face of such exemplary self-sacrifice.

You, O valiant sons of this great lineage, whose history is filled with epic tales of heroism!
You, O worthy heroic descendants of the Göktürks, who labour day and night without rest, to the very end, for the sake of the Turkish nation!
You, the new Kül Tekins and Kür Şads of 20th-century Turkish history—is it possible, as a Turk with a conscience and a heart, not to take pride in you?

It is not merely traitors who are striving to destroy those seemingly insignificant material possessions of yours—which you have made a shield for this great yet ill-fated homeland—but also a pack of vile creatures for whom the word 'unwary' might as well be a medal of honour. Let them struggle, let them thrash about, let them twist and turn like snakes to curry favour with empty-headed cliques. Can three and a half traitors and a handful of scoundrels bring down the Turkish stronghold that an entire hostile world has failed to destroy throughout a vast history?

Young Turk! Young Turkist! At this perilous turning point in history, beneath the Turkish skies shrouded in dark clouds, the spirits of the millions of martyrs who shed their blood to create and uphold that homeland are surely following your struggle—to bring your race to its knees and prevent your homeland from being trampled under filthy feet—with pride and admiration. As Akif said:

'O soldier who fell to the ground for these lands!'

You are no different from those legendary heroes of Gallipoli. In a sense, your struggle is even more arduous than theirs. For the young heroes at Gallipoli, who used their chests as shields for the homeland, fought only against the enemy before them. You, however, must contend not only with the traitors before you, but also with the cowards who seek to stab you in the back.

There is a refrain of a 'second war of liberation' that never leaves the lips of those who strike you with the weapons of the Russians and the Chinese. In truth, it is you who, whilst still far from the actual battlefields, are striving to wage—and indeed are waging—such a second war of liberation. For it is you, dear young Turkist, who have so generously put forward your existence—small in material terms, yet so great in spirit as to be the envy of all—against those who seek to bring down the sacred fortress known as Turkey!

The Turkish race, which has always known how to reach the shores of safety by summoning its guiding Grey Wolf at every perilous moment in history, will undoubtedly overcome this current perilous turning point as well. And that is why, as the danger grows, the day of liberation draws nearer. The Turkish world will undoubtedly reach that happy day when not only traitors but also the vile will be left scrambling for a place to hide.

You, the self-sacrificing guardians of our homeland today, young Turkish nationalists!
Noble heroes who, in the most vibrant and passionate years of their lives, have used their pure hearts—which ought to be filled with the games of love—as a shield against the bullets fired at the homeland:

Greetings to you! All eyes are upon you! One day, history will surely applaud you!

NEJDET SANÇAR'S DEFENCE IN THE 1944 TURKIC NATIONALISM TRIAL

"I shall not ask to be acquitted, for what is presented as a crime against me is nothing other than loving this land, this race.

I love my homeland and my race; that is why I am a Turkish nationalist."

I have nothing to say to those who do not understand the meaning of this love.
If this is a sin, then condemn me. I shall accept this condemnation with pride; I shall regard it as an honour.

I shall not even say that I expect justice from you, for if this court is not just, then it is utterly meaningless. Standing before the greatest court of all—history—as a Turkish son with my head held high, I have no fears. I regard my imprisonment, which is now approaching ten months and the greater part of which has been spent lying on wooden benches, as an honourable misfortune endured for the sake of the nation.

Within those walls, amidst the bloodstains of crushed animals and in filthy cells that have lost their colour—so filthy that not even a dog would lie there—

cells—where not even a small enough hole for a ray of light to seep through exists—in a low-ceilinged dungeon—no, not a dungeon, but a grave—the days I have spent yearning for light, the sun and life, and my sleepless nights, will tomorrow be bitter yet glorious memories for me.
I am not disheartened by these experiences. On the contrary, I am content.

I am happy despite the fact that my home has been torn apart; despite not having forgotten the unbearable anguish and tears my wife endured in the days when she was to earn the honour of becoming a Turkish mother; and despite the storms raging in her soul now that she is left alone with her tiny child in the struggle for life.

I have loved the Turks, and I shall continue to love them.
But in the end, there are sorrows, there are disasters, and indeed, all manner of treachery to be faced.
I accept it all!

Long live the Turkish race!

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND THOSE OPPOSED TO V

There is a misfortune frequently observed in this country's recent history. Whenever a step or move is sought to be taken for the benefit of the homeland, such actions have invariably encountered forces hostile to Turkishness and have been tripped up.

Among the movements beneficial to the Turkish nation that emerged as nationalist initiatives only to be thwarted—and even crushed—the most unforgettable examples are those of 1944 and 1953. These events—the first belonging to the era of single-party dictatorship, the second to the era of 'national will'—are actions that can shed light on the nature of the insidious hostility towards the Turkish nation, which has persisted to this day and will undoubtedly continue into the future.

The 1944 incident was an act of treason aimed at crushing Turkish nationalism:

During the years of the Second World War, nationalism had grown very strong and spread throughout Turkey. One reason for this was the abundance of Turkic-nationalist publications, whilst another was the storm of fire and blood that had engulfed the world. At a time when nations were being wiped off the map in the blink of an eye, the only force capable of keeping a country like Turkey—which at the time was materially very under-resourced—on its feet could, of course, only be nationalism. Consequently, nationalism had become so widespread in our country that even Şükrü Saraçoğlu, the Prime Minister during the dictatorship in those years, was compelled to state in a speech to Parliament in 1943: **"We are Turks, we are Turkish nationalists, and we shall remain so. For us, Turkish nationalism** is **as much a matter of blood as it is—at the very least—a matter of conscience and culture**."

It was against this nationalism—which had grown to such an extent and was showing the potential to grow even further and dominate the politics of society—that the notorious 'crusade' was launched in the spring of 1944.

The crusades of history were the result of efforts to eradicate Islam. The aim of the 1944 crusade, however, was to destroy Turkish nationalism.

As the patriotic and honourable Turks of those years knew all too well, those who organised the 1944 crusade were the insidious mortal enemies of this race and this homeland. Under the banner of treachery they had raised, the entire educated class of that era—corrupt in blood, spirit and mind—had gathered and vied with one another in the treachery of stabbing Turkish Nationalism in the back. However, **Turkish Nationalism was not an idea that could be eradicated by the treachery of a handful of cowards**. During that campaign, which lasted for months and spewed hatred towards the Turkish people, it sustained many wounds from the daggers of those cowardly hands, yet it still stood firm.

The events of 1953, however, took the form of the closure of the famous Turkish **nationalist** association of those years, the **Turkish Nationalists'** Association, and thus the stabbing of the nationalist movement once again.

The Turkish Nationalists' Association had been founded in a spirit of freedom and democracy and, within a short time, had become a nationwide organisation by opening branches in many parts of Turkey. Those who founded the association and opened its branches were young intellectuals. In this way, nationalism was becoming a cultural force, growing and gaining strength through the efforts of young Turkish intellectuals. The rapid increase in the number of people gathering under the association's banner was also causing alarm amongst the political establishment.

A bullet fired at a mosque in Thessaloniki led the reckless politicians, alarmed by these developments, and the enemies of Turkism to unite once again on the same side. The Prime Minister of the time levelled a slander against Turkism that history would never forgive, and as a result, the association was closed down by court order and its assets confiscated. In this way, a conspiracy jointly orchestrated by political schemers and the enemies of Turkism had once again stabbed the nationalist movement in the back, bringing its development to a halt.

The nationalist movements of earlier years were initiatives outside the realm of politics. For this reason, they did not greatly concern Turkey's enemies abroad. However, when the new movement took on a political form, the situation changed. For any success achieved by nationalism through this means would have enabled Turkish nationalism to have a say in the fate of the state. **For Turkism to have a say in the life of Turkey would, in turn, have thwarted the ambitions of external powers harbouring certain subtle economic and political calculations regarding our homeland. For it would have been utterly impossible to sway the nationalist ideology that would hold the helm of the state's ship.** For this reason, it was a matter of necessity for the foreign powers pursuing certain intricate schemes against Turkey to utilise all the means at their disposal to avert the looming great danger, in the interests of their own sordid interests.

Admittedly, the nationalist movement's current political strength did not bode well for major successes in the near future. Yet it is also a fact that it was stirring up certain hopes for the not-too-distant future.
The fact that Turkey's current generation of educated youth was showing a strong inclination towards the movement naturally gave pause to those who feared nationalist movements. It was also possible that the nation, which had been lulled to sleep for years by sweet lullabies, might suddenly awaken from this slumber.

It was precisely this that united external forces with those within the country on this occasion. There was a possibility of facing an unexpected outcome. It was, of course, far wiser to lie awake than to have a nightmare.

Indeed, the destructive propaganda sweeping across Turkey like a dreadful hurricane was the result of this fear. The millions swept in every direction by the hurricane threw open the doors that had been intended to remain shut, thus

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It is now a fact that the nationalist movement has once again been stabbed in the back by a treacherous and despicable game orchestrated from behind the scenes. However, this outcome does not mean that the struggle is over. **The struggle will, of course, continue. It will continue until the day the fist of nationalism explodes like an atomic bomb in the minds of the forces, both internal and external, that are hostile to Turkism.** For the nationalist movement is not, like that of the opposing forces, a path of deceit. **The nationalist movement derives its strength and momentum from the national ideal of the Turkish race: Turkism.**

The most painful aspect of this struggle is that many Turks, who in terms of ideology belong to this camp, find themselves outside—and sometimes even opposed to—the nationalist movement due to their political circumstances. However, just as unripe grapes eventually turn into wine with patience, it is not impossible that nationalists outside the nationalist movement will one day, in one way or another, rally to the ranks of Turkism.

It is imperative that the idea of Turkism should govern Turkey's destiny. If the Turkish nation wishes to possess a state not like a vessel sailing in the wake of foreigners, but rather like a great warship that stirs the oceans, the way forward is to place its national ideal in the captain's bridge.

Given today's domestic and international conditions, this is, of course, not an outcome that can be easily achieved. Yet, despite the difficulties, it is an outcome that must be attained.

To this end, first and foremost, **all hearts beating for the Turkish cause must unite under a single flag. We must believe that this struggle is a struggle for the very existence of the Turkish people. We must become fearless, resolute men. In short, like our glorious ancestors, the Göktürks, we must 'work tirelessly, day and night, to the point of exhaustion, so that the Turkish nation may not perish'.**

If we fail to do this, it means we deserve the black stain that will be etched upon our foreheads.

TO TURKIC-MINDED YOUTH

You are young people who are walking this path because you believe that the most fruitful service to your lineage, your homeland and your nation can be rendered through the Ideal of Turkism. To turn your backs on the many material and spiritual opportunities—pleasurable, alluring and offering personal benefits—that captivate young spirits during the most romantic stages of human life, and to dare to walk such a arduous path, is undoubtedly a movement of national consciousness worthy of admiration.

When you decided to walk this path, you were, of course, well aware that Turkism is a coat of fire for those who devote themselves to it. Having witnessed this through examples and experience, the fact that you remain a Turkist is undoubtedly because you feel, deep within, the greatness of the blood coursing through your veins.

Yes, Turkism is, as it has demonstrated in various incidents over the past centuries, truly a coat of fire. Those who have turned the Turkish Ideal into such a source of suffering for the Turks on Turkish soil are the well-known enemies of this great race.

The source of this enmity lies outside our homeland, whilst those who seek to insidiously impose it upon Turkey in a thousand and one guises are amongst us. You are already familiar with most of them—the Communists, the Freemasons, the Nurcu, the Kurdish nationalists, and so on

you are familiar with most of them. However, there is another group you must also be aware of. As they are the most elusive and insidious, this group—which is best able to practise hostility towards Turkishness with the greatest ease—is the 'remnants of the empire', the worst legacy of our last empire to the Republic of Turkey.

This hostility has, from time to time, manifested itself in events across Turkey in the years following 1938. Consequently, Turkish nationalism has always faced bared fangs—not only during those dreadful years when the national will was blatantly trampled upon, but also during the years when the national will prevailed.

It is certain that this will continue until the day when the Turkish Ideal takes control of the destiny of the Turkish nation. Until that happy day, all Turks—that is, the Turkish nationalists—who find and feel Turkishness not only in their blood but also in their spirit, conscience, heart and mind, will continue their struggle on this path without pause.

This hostility towards Turkism in Turkey is a horrific phenomenon, enough to freeze the human mind. In which country in the world has the nationalism of the nation that owns that land been sought to be crushed by movements led by those in the highest offices of the state? The country that suffered this misfortune twice, in 1944 and 1953, is our Turkey.

Has such madness ever been witnessed as the attempt to crush German nationalism in Germany, English nationalism in England, or French nationalism in France—that is, the nationalism of those peoples—by the Germans, the English and the French who hold sway over the fate of their respective states?

Indeed, setting aside these large-scale societies, in which country in the world—one that has not suffered the great calamity of falling into the clutches of communism—could such a movement be directed against the nationalism of the nation that owns that land?

Turkey is the only country in the world in this situation. And judging by the outcome to which events must lead us, this will continue until the day when the Turkish Ideal becomes the guiding principle of Turkey's destiny.

For this reason, the Turkish nationalist generations of today – and perhaps tomorrow – face great responsibilities. One of the most important of these is to free the Turkish Ideal from being a 'shirt of fire' for Turkish nationalists.
It is undoubtedly a very arduous and difficult task. Yet this arduousness and difficulty do not constitute an obstacle to its fulfilment. For the Turk is a race created to grapple with formidable obstacles. Therefore, you, the present generation of Turkists, must, by virtue of this historic strength inherent in your race, overcome this obstacle at any cost.

Whatever their age, every Turkist today must be fully aware of what lies in store for them on the path of the Ideal of Turkism. Hardships, sorrows and calamities—such as being exiled, losing one's livelihood, being overwhelmed by material and spiritual distress, and being deprived of freedom—are matters that Turks on this path must face head-on. These hardships, sorrows and calamities may be unbearably heavy, utterly disheartening and devastating for others. However, for the Turkist who understands the root causes, reasons and significance of the injustices he faces and the calamities that stand in his way, these are not a source of despair; on the contrary, they are the awakening lashes that remind him of his historical and ethnic duty, and so it must be.

Events and experience have shown that the Turkist must be courageous, patient and methodical.

A young person who lacks courage cannot walk for long along the arduous and suffering-filled path of Turkism. This has always been the case. Yet, whilst the weak have fallen by the wayside and the weary have stopped, the courageous have pressed on.

A Turkist must also be patient. For whilst enemies on one side and insurmountable obstacles on the other stand in their way like the Great Wall of China, patience is the greatest ally in overcoming such formidable barriers.

A plan, however, is the key that will open the door to success. Every Turkic nationalist community, from the largest organisations to the smallest groups, must march towards its goal with a plan whose principles have been clearly defined. And if the opportunity arises, or if the means are created, Turkic nationalist organisations must strive to act in unison under a single plan.

Once again, events have shown that a Turkic nationalist can expect no help from anyone but another Turkic nationalist. This reality should lead young Turkic nationalists to the idea of securing economic resources and should even fill them with this ambition. It must not be forgotten that one of the most significant reasons why previous generations were unable to make their voices heard by the masses was precisely these economic constraints. It is heartening that a group of today's young Turkic nationalists has already taken a step in this direction. Others
, and efforts must be made to prepare the necessary resources, unite these initiatives and forge a powerful force.

Since Turkism is also a moral path, young Turkists are often deceived in their dealings with those outside the Turkish Ideal (and, no doubt, because they disregard the latter's concept of morality). To prevent such repeated deceptions from continuing, certain principles must be established; the tactics employed by the opposing side and their objectives must be identified; in short, precautions must be taken to avoid falling into the enemy's trap.

Young Turk!

In this world of treachery and traitors, the greatest strength in the struggle you have undertaken with a heart brimming with love for your lineage, your homeland and your state is the blood coursing through your veins—a special gift from God. That blood is the foundation of all greatness and majesty—from the unique victories won on the battlefields of over three thousand years of history, to the architectural masterpieces that adorn the lands you inhabit; from works of art such as miniatures, calligraphy and poetry, to the greatest human virtues such as bravery, determination, self-sacrifice, virtue, honour and dignity. It was that blood which, in centuries past, made the Turk the foremost nation of the world. Tomorrow, it will be that same blood that will restore him to his former glorious life. For there is no task that cannot be accomplished, nor any goal that cannot be reached, with that blood.

Those who could not defeat the Turks on the battlefield have turned to the path of destroying them from within, gnawing away at their very core. ***In recent times, particularly in the years following the Tanzimat, the most despicable and devious schemes imaginable have been employed to uproot the Turks and reduce them to a state where they would remain Turkish in name only. These schemes continue to this day.*** And, alas, the enemies have achieved considerable success in this regard.
However, they will never achieve these treacherous aims. For the Turk has now awakened. The young Turkists, who constitute the most conscious segment of the once-slumbering Turkish nation, are multiplying rapidly. The descendant of the Grey Wolf feels his Grey Wolf heritage in his very soul. This spirit will one day envelop the entire homeland like a divine fire, and the Turkish Ideal will become the dominant ideology that shapes the Turk's destiny.

In this great and historic mission, the heaviest burden will rest upon your shoulders, young Turkist! How fortunate you are to be able to render such a great and glorious service to your unique lineage!...

LETTERS TO YOUNG TURKIC NATIONALISTS - I

Our Turkish has become an arena where many ideas and beliefs clash fiercely with one another. Among these competing forces are those who seek to sever a part of our homeland from our state or to surrender Turkey in its entirety to the clutches of our greatest enemy; there are also organisations—both political and non-political—that take the form of a sort of interest-based alliance founded on personal grounds. Faced with these various destructive or harmful forces, which differ in their material and moral strength, Turkism stands as the sole ideology capable of upholding the Turkish nation.

Since Turkism stands against all these destructive and harmful forces, those forces are, to varying degrees, opposed to or hostile towards Turkism. This is why these forces played a major role in the attempts by two political organisations—one acting on its own initiative, the other through the national will—to crush Turkism in 1944 and 1953.

In the face of these various weapons turned against our race and our state, great responsibilities fall upon you, the young and passionate followers of the '**Great Turkish** Ideal' today. These responsibilities are a natural duty you owe to the Turkish race to which you belong. You may also regard this as a debt of honour and integrity.

In order to carry out this task properly, it is essential first to understand the opposing forces and your own strength in relation to them.

It is certain that almost all destructive and harmful forces are, in terms of the resources at their disposal, in a far stronger position than the Turkish nationalist movement.

Take communism, for example… Although the communists constitute a very small community relative to Turkey's population, the vast resources provided to them by the external powers on which they rely make them the most dangerous of the internal enemies threatening our state and nation.
The role played by the ignorance, lack of awareness, stupidity and even—at times—behaviour that could be deemed treasonous on the part of the political cliques that have dominated Turkey's destiny for over a quarter of a century has been significant in enabling the Reds to become such a terrifying force. You must never for a moment lose sight of the fact that this Red threat is Turkey's most pressing issue today.

Then there is Kurdish nationalism… The Kurdish nationalist movement, which emerged in the early years of the Republic as a result of and at the instigation of another state, has in recent years become entangled in the machinations of the northern giant. Presented today as an 'Eastern Anatolia issue' and, in this guise, seeking to exert influence over – and to some extent already influencing – millions in the eastern regions of the country, this treacherous movement will, if it continues to develop at this pace, pose a very grave danger to Turkey in the not-too-distant future.

Meanwhile, we must not overlook the various movements that have been disguised as religious endeavours. For these movements, which are presented to devout and pure-hearted Turks as efforts in the path of Islam, are nothing other than poisoned daggers turned against our Turkish identity. In this regard, it is essential to understand the true meaning behind the actions of those involved, such as denying their nationality and attempting to disparage Turkishness. To view these as mere pitiful follies is by no means correct. In fact, such a line of thinking would constitute an unforgivable folly for Turkishness.

As for Turkish nationalism: We are forced to admit, with regret, that in the ideological struggle in Turkey, Turkish nationalism is the weakest force in terms of material resources. One of the main reasons for this is the attitude and behaviour of the political forces that have held the fate of our state in their hands towards Turkish nationalism.
It is these attitudes and behaviours—which could be classified as ranging from indifference to betrayal—that have driven Turkish nationalism,

—which is the philosophy of life and source of happiness for our people—into the current situation, fraught with impossibilities.

If we add to the above the forces opposed to Turkism—such as Freemasonry and the partisanship driven by the common interests of certain cliques—the following conclusion emerges of its own accord: You are the young soldiers of an army that is the weakest in terms of material arms in today's battle of ideas.

You must always bear in mind this great truth: Turkism possesses a strength found in none of the hostile, destructive and harmful ideas and beliefs directed against the Turkish nation. This strength lies in the fact that Turkism is an ideal.
Whereas none of the opposing forces we are compelled to fight and defeat are ideals.

Communism is the path of dishonour and disgrace for those who sell themselves for material gain and position. Kurdish nationalism is a betrayal that seeks to sell off half of Turkey, a nation approaching its thousandth year. Movements disguised as religious endeavours are no different from the others. How can there be any connection between attempting to deny the Turks—who, single-handedly and for centuries, have acted as the guardians of Islam against the Christian Western world—and championing the cause of Islam? What else is this but an attempt to shatter the sole sword that protects Islam?

Indeed… Communism, Kurdish nationalism, Arab nationalism, Nurculuk, Freemasonry and the rest… In which of these does the idealism possess that divine power—that great might capable of transforming man into the heroes of the age of legends?

Since idealism possesses the virtue of being able to dissolve its own existence within the national cause, the number of idealists in a society cannot, of course, be as numerous as the grains of sand on the seashore. Especially if that society is a country like Turkey, where in recent years all spiritual values have been subjected to the most shameless attacks; a country whose national ideal has been treacherously stabbed in the back by cowardly hands…

Yet, whatever the circumstances, victory will be ours. For all the forces opposing us are captives of materialism and base interests. How can a force built upon self-interest possibly destroy an eternal and divine ideal?

The generations before you did not achieve brilliant successes in their struggles that spanned many years. Yet, despite conditions that were far from favourable—and at times even took on a terrifying nature—they thwarted the ambitions of the enemies of Turkishness to uproot the Turkish Ideal. However, our duty is not merely to prevent the uprooting of our ideal. **Our true duty is to lead the Turkish Ideal to victory. That is to say, by making Turkism dominant in the life of the Turk, we must silence the clamour of all the ideological absurdities that threaten our race. And now, this duty is about to fall upon your shoulders.**

What must you do to fulfil this duty—which you are about to inherit from the older, weary generations—and to raise the banner of Turkism high in the Turkish skies? It is on these matters that I wish to say a few words to you.

LETTERS TO YOUNG TURKIC NATIONALISTS II

The first thing young Turkists must do to properly fulfil the great duty they owe to their lineage is to obtain and read the most important intellectual and literary works relating to the Ideal of Turkism as soon as possible. This, of course, is not a haphazard reading; it will be a reading undertaken by delving into the issues, reflecting upon them, reasoning through them, and even taking notes. For ***one cannot attain the level of a conscious Turkist without thoroughly understanding the core tenets of Turkism—the philosophy of life of the Turkish race—its views on various issues, and the internal and external forces against which it must struggle.*** For this reason, for young Turkists, this act of reading must be the first watchword of the honourable struggle they will pursue throughout their lives.

The reading of Turkic nationalist works can be undertaken either individually or in groups. Reading in groups is, of course, more beneficial as it provides the opportunity for discussion on ideas and issues.

The most important point that young Turkish nationalists, whose minds will be filled with the ideas and consciousness of Turkishness, must understand is that Turkish nationalism stands apart from and above all other ideas, beliefs and thoughts. In other words, Turkish nationalism cannot be confused with any idea, belief or thought—whether political or not—nor can it be used as a means to that end, or as a stepping stone. To use Turkism as a stepping stone for another purpose is a betrayal of the ideal of the Turkish race.

However, this certainly does not mean that Turkists should remain completely indifferent to ideas or organisations outside the national ideal, or, in particular, that they should keep their distance from political parties. Our primary duty is to ensure that Turkism prevails in our social life. Since this can be achieved most directly and effectively through political parties, Turkists will undoubtedly engage with political parties in order to attain these objectives. This engagement may take the form of either establishing a party themselves, or supporting the existing party best suited to serve the cause of Turkism – whether by joining it or not.
A party whose senior and highest-ranking members consist entirely of Turkish nationalists, and whose programme is drawn up in accordance with the main tenets of the Turkish Ideal, is undoubtedly the best political organisation for this task. If no such party exists, it would be appropriate to concentrate all efforts on the most suitable political party.

Another issue is to endeavour not to fall under the influence of destructive propaganda.

The subversive forces at large in our country have extensive resources at their disposal to make their propaganda effective. When these extensive resources are combined with surprising and deceptive manoeuvres, it becomes evident that the effects of this negative propaganda extend even to you.

Destructive propaganda cannot, of course, lead conscious Turkish citizens astray. However, we must regretfully acknowledge that it can leave certain residues in people's minds.

It would be appropriate to highlight the nature of the games being played by examining a few examples of this propaganda:

For example, the insistence on using the term 'people' instead of 'nation'... This is a cunning ploy of communism, which denies the existence of the 'nation'. By saying 'Turkish people' rather than 'Turkish nation', the intended outcome is to gradually erase the concept of 'nation'

ideas and concepts of the 'nation' from people's minds. If a society, under the influence of constant indoctrination, comes to believe that the community to which it belongs is not a 'nation' but merely a 'crowd of people', it will inevitably drift away from the level of a nation and its spiritual strength, becoming nothing more than a mass of people. There is no doubt that such a mass of people would be very easy prey for hostile forces.

As if saying **'Turkish** people' instead of 'nation' were not enough, the use of the phrase 'people **of** Turkey' on top of that is the result of an intention and effort on the part of certain interlopers to insidiously claim a share in our homeland.

Young Turkish nationalists must not fall for this ploy.

Then there is the deceptive use of the term 'imperialism'.

This is carried out, on the one hand, by constantly attacking the greatest political force opposing communism and focusing attention there, thereby casting a red veil over Russian imperialism; and on the other hand, by portraying the Turkic cause of the **'Captive** Turks' as an act of imperialism.

Amidst the clamour surrounding American imperialism and the Vietnam War, which is being pursued hand in hand with it, there is a significant role played by the ploy to make people forget about Russian exploitation—which is a thousand times more terrifying than American imperialism and, moreover, has targeted millions of the Turkish people. However, what is of greater importance to us in this regard is the farce of portraying the Turkic nationalist cause of the **'Captive** Turks' as imperialism.

Imperialism is a nation's claim to rights over the territories of other nations—in other words, the invasion of those countries. For example, Russia's seizure of Turkestan, Crimea and Azerbaijan is imperialism. The horrific rule of Red China in East Turkestan—a Turkish land since the earliest ages of history—is imperialism. The cause of 'Turkish nationalism' regarding the 'enslaved Turks', however, is the struggle for the freedom and independence of millions of Turks living as captives of their enemies in their own homelands. In other words, this cause is a movement against imperialism. Can opposition to imperialism itself be a form of imperialism?

One of the issues to which young Turkic nationalists must pay close attention is the linguistic movement known as 'Pure Turkicism!'.

It has now become as clear as day that this linguistic movement is nothing more than a pro-Russian ploy. The general public may not fully grasp this, but young Turkists must understand it thoroughly.

The aim of the movement known as 'Pure Turkish!' is to strip the Turkish language of its Turkish identity. The intended outcome is, on the one hand, to sever our nation from its great national culture and, on the other, to render Turks unable to understand one another. This destructive movement, which is increasing its reach day by day by making use of a major means of persuasion such as the radio, is beginning to exert its influence, albeit not on a large scale, amongst young Turkish nationalists as well. Some of the made-up words appearing in your writings demonstrate this.

Young Turkish nationalists, having been forced to say and speak these words in classrooms for years simply because they appear in textbooks,

as if that were not enough, have been forced to read them in newspapers and magazines and listen to them on the radio day in, day out; they undoubtedly use these words as a result of habit. But whatever the case may be, they must still refrain from using them. Even if they find it somewhat difficult to rein in their speech, they must certainly exercise control over their pens when writing.

It is absolutely unacceptable for a Turkish language advocate to put pen to paper to write sentences containing 'koşul', 'olanak', 'sorun', 'zorun' or 'yapıt'. These tasteless and, moreover, deliberate fabrications should be left to the ideologically deviant elements in newspapers and magazines.

And a Turkish language advocate, however young and inexperienced they may be, must not be seen to be in the same camp as such creatures.

Furthermore, they must not use words such as 'ozan' and 'ulus'—which are, in fact, Turkish—in those inappropriate senses, just as they are deliberately misused by those seeking to corrupt our language.

Language is a matter of the utmost importance. To lose it is death for the nation. The descendants of those who could not defeat the Turks on the battlefield are, today, eager to achieve victory by corrupting our language and are well on their way to doing so. This is the name of that trap: 'Pure Turkishism!' It is the path leading the Turk to spiritual death by causing him to lose his language.

Those who must above all avoid falling into such a trap are, of course, the Turkish nationalists.

LETTERS TO YOUNG TURKIC LANGUAGE ADVOCATES , PART III

One of the important duties awaiting young Turkish nationalists is the task of organising.

Young Turkish nationalists must, wherever they may be in the country and at the earliest opportunity, establish Turkish nationalist centres, gather around them, and take the first step on this path by engaging in disciplined work. Once these centres have made themselves known and gained acceptance, over time, by establishing contact with one another, they can become a powerful force capable of joint action.

These centres, which will bring young Turkists together to discuss and consult with one another and thereby enable them to act in unison, should have a simple programme tailored to the available resources and the specific characteristics of their environment. Even the partial implementation of this simple programme can be considered a service.

One must not forget the role that money plays in all undertakings. In order for the centres they establish to engage in productive work, young Turkists must first assess their own resources and collect the funds they can spare without fail. This modest sum, of course, cannot meet all needs. In this regard, it is necessary to seek out other, broader avenues of support. The first to be considered in this regard might be the elders within nationalist, patriotic and well-meaning circles.

Despite the fact that our education system lacks a national and nationalist stance and curriculum, and that ideas opposed to Turkism run rampant in our schools at every level, thank God there are thousands, indeed tens of thousands, of Turkish children living in every corner of our country who have not lost the spirit of Turkism. It is precisely in raising these Turkish children—who have not yet been lost—to an intellectual level and instilling in them a conscious awareness of the Turkish ideal that these Turkish nationalist centres, should they be established, could fulfil a great duty.

The young Turkists of these centres can carry out this service and duty in two ways.
The first of these is by organising conferences, seminars and discussion meetings, provided a suitable venue can be secured. If a general meeting place cannot be secured, it is also beneficial to gather in small groups to discuss various issues in a disciplined manner, reach a conclusion on those where possible, and act accordingly.

Another effective method for nurturing young people who have not yet engaged sufficiently with intellectual matters is to take an individual interest in them. Every young Turkist, wherever they may be, can take one or two such comrades under their wing and, through a programme lasting an academic year, have them read nationalist works, provide them with the necessary knowledge and guidance, and even foster their intellectual development through careful discussions; in this way, highly beneficial results can be achieved on the path of Turkism. If ten young Turkists in a school were to train ten friends each—or twenty friends in pairs—over the course of an academic year, and if this training were continued the following year with the participation of these new young Turkists, who would by then be able to join the training team, the outcome of such an endeavour would be readily apparent.

Therefore, these efforts and services to spread Turkism—whether carried out in small groups or through individual persuasion—must be directed and managed through the Turkist centres to be established. It is also possible for these centres—which could become hubs of useful service within their own communities—to transform this organisation of young Turkists into a nationwide service machine by maintaining contact with centres in other regions.

Another duty awaiting young Turkists is to strive to remedy deficiencies in national culture within a short time and, in the meantime, to devote meticulous attention to matters of language and orthography.

It is not easy for a young Turk who has become detached from his nation's culture, or who can only navigate the shallows of that vast sea, to be accepted as a Turkist youth.

This deficiency manifests itself most generally in the speaking, writing and spelling of the Turkish language. Young people who cannot speak properly, who make errors in sentence structure, and who make mistakes when speaking and writing everyday words have, unfortunately, become the majority. Spelling and even punctuation errors and omissions in written texts, meanwhile, constitute a separate problem.

Young Turkish nationalists must rectify these shortcomings—which are, in fact, simple yet significant in terms of meaning—as soon as possible. Moreover, they must treat this as a matter of national honour.

Another significant shortcoming observed among young Turkish nationalists is their lack of serious and sustained effort to disseminate nationalist publications.

You are well aware of how those who serve ideas and movements hostile to Turkishness and destructive to our national existence are disseminating the books and journals of those causes. In this country, Turkish nationalist publications have the least opportunity for such dissemination. Yet, ought it not to be exactly the opposite?

Young Turkish nationalists must certainly put an end to this persistent neglect. Thank God that, today,

nationalist publications have increased considerably compared to previous years. All these publications—whether books or magazines—which serve the cause of Turkishness must be rapidly disseminated and read by young Turkish nationalists within their communities and, in particular, amongst the youth.

The strongest bulwark against subversive ideas is a sense of Turkish nationalism. Where books and magazines promoting Turkish nationalism are passed from hand to hand, treasonous movements are doomed to wither away and even disappear.

That is why young Turkists must make it their daily and most natural practice and duty to disseminate works of every kind related to the cause to which they have dedicated themselves. And they must not forget that this is one of the greatest, yet simplest, services that can be rendered to the Turkist cause.

Young Turkists must share the same views on the core issues of the Turkist cause. This is only possible by knowing the fundamental principles and defining elements of Turkism.

Turkish nationalism is the ideal of the Turkish race. This ideal can be summarised as follows: **'The Turkish Nation, as an indivisible whole, becoming the most superior and happiest society in both material and spiritual terms within its own homeland'**.

Turanism and Turkish racial nationalism are the two fundamental elements of this ideal. The greatest figures in our intellectual and literary history have focused on these two fundamental elements in their works. As Ziya GÖKALP states:

'The Turkish nation is an army; those who do not join are deserters'

or:

'The Turkish nation is an indivisible whole.'

are immortal words that have left the strongest impressions of Turanism—one of these fundamental elements—in the minds and consciousness of Turkish generations.

As for Turkish racialism: This fundamental element is, first and foremost, the belief in the greatness and superiority of the Turkish race, and our desire and duty to preserve and perpetuate these great qualities bestowed upon us by God—such as our morality, heroism, chivalry, virtue, military prowess, our ability to establish great states, our artistic genius, and so on.

Mehmet Emin YURDAKUL's:

Your intellect is as superior as
your claws.

or

The shepherd tending the flocks of his great nation
Is nobler than the diamond-crowned khan of another race.

Such verses are examples of this belief.

A second principle of Turkish nationalism is to take measures to protect our national existence against those insidious individuals who, whilst living in this country, pursue agendas hostile to Turkishness.

Similarly, we must adopt the same approach regarding core issues such as the ***'Turkish*** Nation' and the ***'Turkish*** Language'. We can define our national and linguistic framework as follows.

The Turkish nation:
'A community comprising those of Turkish descent and those who have become as Turkish as those of Turkish descent.'

The Turkish language:
"A language comprising words of Turkish origin, as well as words adopted by the Turkish Nation and considered part of the Turkish heritage."

Those who hold differing views on these fundamental issues create gaps in the ranks of the ideological army.

Young Turkists must unite on such fundamental issues and avoid resorting to childish notions and definitions such as 'the nation ***as I see*** it' or 'the language ***as I see it***'.

LETTERS TO YOUNG TURKISH LANGUAGE ADVOCATES I V

Another great duty for Young Turkists is to be diligent. Regardless of which stage of education they are at, a Young Turkist must take their place amongst the front-row students in their class. Laziness and Turkism can never go hand in hand. A Young Turkist who allows themselves to be labelled as lazy must realise that they are casting a shadow over their great ideal.

The young Turkist's true service to the **'Great Turkish** Ideal' will, without a doubt, begin only after they have swiftly and successfully completed their years of study and entered adult life. The young Turkist must regard stumbling or wasting a year on the way to this phase of service as a fault, and must keep themselves under strict self-discipline to avoid committing this fault.

Another important issue for young Turks is the matter of dress.

The destructive forces, which resort to every means to alienate today's youth from human values and virtues, have not neglected outward appearances either. The most striking manifestations of this coercion on young men are greasy, filthy hair hanging down to the shoulders and beards that darken the chins and cheeks. Ornaments hung around the neck or worn on the wrists or fingers are equally ridiculous consequences of this same pressure. It is plain to see, with numerous examples, that this same pressure is often forcing young girls into ridiculous and even ridiculous disguises.

Young Turks must never pay any heed to these outwardly ridiculous affectations. Serious and dignified people, as in all things, are natural and simple in their dress and appearance. Young Turks, too, shall be the same.

Do not forget that, just like one's social standing, the adornment of one's attire does not confer value upon a person. And always bear in mind this immortal line by Ziya Pasha:

'Even if you adorn a donkey with a golden saddle, it remains a donkey.'

Young Turkish nationalists should aim to reach the highest ranks in their chosen professions. This objective, which may appear to be a personal ambition, is, of course, a path to serving the cause of Turkism. If all the young Turkists of today are imbued with this consciousness and, as a result, rise through the ranks in their professions, then in fifteen or twenty years' time, many key positions in Turkey will have passed into the hands of the true sons of this great nation.
Positions of authority are not places for ruling, showing off or seeking personal gain. A position is a stepping stone for serving the nation and the state. And this service can only be carried out by those who harbour love for their homeland and nation in their hearts and a sense of duty to the state in their minds—that is, by Turkists. There are hundreds, indeed thousands, of examples to show that a Turk who is not a Turkist cannot serve this homeland, this nation and this state as they ought.

One matter on which a young Turk must be particularly sensitive is the issue of money. Carelessness or negligence regarding money is a grave human failing. This failing, which is unforgivable even for any serious person, is a disgrace of the highest order for a Turkist. As a young Turkist is obliged to be a model of perfection in every respect, he must therefore regard the matter of money as a matter of honour and must never allow that honour to be tarnished.

Dear young people! In these letters, in which I have endeavoured to show you, the young offspring of the great Turkish race, practical ways to address a few matters that will be of benefit in today's struggle, and to draw your attention to a few other points, I wish to conclude by touching upon a very important issue.
Every Turk who wishes to serve their race, their homeland and their ideal must burn with a great passion, with an unquenchable fire. This is the passion and fire ***of service to the Turkish nation.*** Here, I shall once again present before your eyes one of the finest examples of this passion and fire in our history.
In the Kül Tegin monument, the text of which is attributed to Bilge Khan, the following words express the meaning and greatness of the fire of service to the nation in a simple yet marvellous way:
"My younger brother Kül Tegin and I made a pact. Lest the name and fame of the nation for which our father and uncle toiled should perish, I did not sleep at night nor rest by day for the sake of the Turkish nation. Together with my younger brother Kül Tegin and the two shads, I toiled to the point of death, until the very end."

Behold, this is the finest torch to light your path—for you, the youngest generation of the Turkish lineage today! Strive to be like those great forefathers of yours, whose hearts burned with the fire of service to their lineage. Believe that the only thing that will give meaning to a life full of hardships is service to the nation. You, too, should set as your goal to reach the level where you can work tirelessly, day and night, to the point of exhaustion, for this great nation—as vast as the universe, yet so unfortunate—the Turkish nation.

Faced with so many enemies—both internal and external—who surround the Turk with a ring of crimson fire and who schemely and treacherously strive to destroy him, this is an inescapable duty for you.
Nothing has changed from yesterday to today when it comes to achieving success. For today's blood is the same as that of old. Namık Kemal expressed this truth:

Do not think that nature changes; this blood is still that blood

How beautifully he expressed this truth!

Act in the spirit of this blood. Throw yourselves into the duty of service in the spirit of this blood. No other blood can stop this blood. On the day this blood begins to speak with that fire, victory will once again belong to the great Turkish race.

NATIONAL IDEALS AND NON-IDEALISTIC ISSUES

The greatest spiritual force playing a role in the existence of nations is, without a doubt, their *ideals*. For *it is when people gather around an ideal that they are liberated from being mere beings living solely for their own petty concerns and, within that spiritual atmosphere, they virtually become giants.* A society composed of people armed with such spiritual strength will, of course, leave those societies lacking it far behind.

***It is the ideal that has sustained the Turkish Nation, from the earliest ages of history, as one of the world's most powerful communities.* It is in pursuit of this ideal—which our forebears termed the *'Red* Apple'—that our people have ceaselessly galloped across three continents of the ancient world. Among the reasons why the Turkish nation—which, strengthened and enriched by this spirit, attained material and spiritual happiness and ruled over other societies for centuries—has in recent times become weak, fragmented and, most painfully of all, enslaved, is the fact that it has lost its ideal.**

***The 20th century is an age in which national ideals clash. So much so that even the small states—the new entities on the world map—are seen to be pursuing ideals commensurate with their own scale.* Even communism, presented as the cause of creating a single world above national entities, has, in the countries it has taken over, become the secret weapon of the ruling nation's national cause. The reason why the 'red' nations have taken up arms against one another is precisely this clash of races and ideals.**

***A society without* an ideal *is, rather than a nation, merely a collection of people.* Such societies inevitably attract the ambitions of nations that do have an ideal. For a nation without an ideal is easy prey. Societies driven by grand causes, in order to seize the homelands they have set their sights upon, therefore resort to severing the nation—the rightful owner of the homeland—from its ideal.**

However, it must not be forgotten that in today's world, the severing of societies from their ideals is carried out not openly, but insidiously and cunningly. *The nation's national ideal is undermined by being portrayed as something alien to its true nature and as a harmful and dangerous idea for society; thus, the masses are forced to distance themselves from the cause, or even to oppose it.* Whilst this false propaganda continues unabated on the one hand, on the other hand, *certain third- or fourth-order societal issues are being presented to the nation's educated classes—and especially to its youth—as if they were major and fundamental causes.*

The form this scheme has taken in our country was first seen in the well-known campaign to link the Turkish Ideal to a fabricated form of Turanism and racism. Once the propaganda, directed and managed from abroad, gained the opportunity to utilise the state's and society's official channels for disseminating ideas in this manner, the Turkish Ideal was insidiously stabbed in its own homeland.

Consequently, *'the ideal, which was being sought to be uprooted from hearts and minds—and which had, to some extent, already been uprooted—***began to be replaced by** *issues of lesser importance and the disguised causes of other societies***'.**

The fact that the Turkish Ideal has come to be regarded by some of Turkey's literate population and by so-called 'quarter-intellectuals' as a dangerous adventure and even an imperialist (!!) movement is precisely the result of this. *In recent years, the mantra of 'economic and social problems!', which has been incessantly repeated to the point of being accepted by empty-headed people as the most important issue in social life, has led to an obsession with the word 'economic!', without much thought even being given to what the 'social!' part actually signifies, thus giving rise to the notion that there can be no issue more important in a society than the economy—and consequently, money.*
This propaganda has played a major role in Turkey's drift towards extreme materialism in recent years. The fact that members of various professions and their families took to the streets during the debate over the Civil Service Act, so as not to receive less pay than others, is, in a sense, a tragic consequence of this propaganda, and in another sense, its triumph.

For minds that believe the most important issue in life is material wealth, spiritual movements—and, by extension, ideals—will, of course, be regarded as empty and romantic delusions. **It is now plain to see to what extent societies—whose educated and so-called enlightened members have been severed from national causes in this manner and regard the national ideal as an extreme and dangerous adventure—will remain helpless, powerless and wretched in the face of states driven by national ideals.**

The Turkish National Ideal is the cause known and cherished in the collective conscience of the nation as the 'Red Apple'. This cause is the aspiration for our people—who, throughout history, have lived for centuries within the borders of a single state as a society superior and happy in both material and spiritual terms—to attain and maintain the same level of happiness in the future. **It is essential to address and evaluate all the lesser causes and issues of Turkish society within the context of this national ideal.**

A society that lacks a national ideal, or which, whilst possessing one, has become detached from it, is, in today's world of great powers, no different from a ship adrift in a stormy and raging sea, left without a captain. The fate of such a society is the same as that of the captainless ship, which will be shattered on the rocks as the waves crash against it.

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